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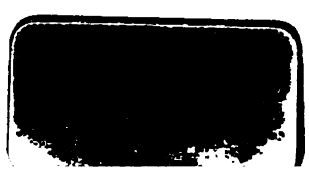
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HISTORY
OF
THE JESUITS.



JOHN WILKINS, D.D.

of the University of Cambridge

Printed by J. Sturges, 1711.

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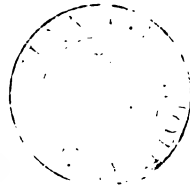
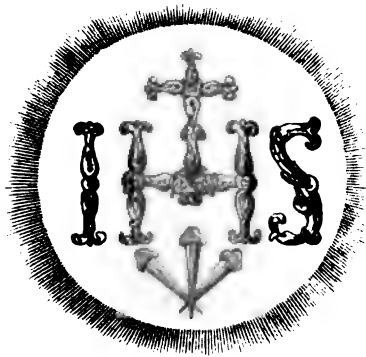
HISTORY
OF
THE JESUITS:

**FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THEIR SOCIETY TO ITS SUPPRESSION
BY POPE CLEMENT XIV.;**

**THEIR MISSIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD;
THEIR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND LITERATURE; WITH THEIR REVIVAL
AND PRESENT STATE.**

BY
ANDREW STEINMETZ,
AUTHOR OF "THE NOVITIATE," "THE JESUIT IN THE FAMILY."

WOOD ENGRAVINGS BY GEORGE MEASON.



IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,
PUBLISHER IN ORDINARY TO HER MAJESTY.

1848.

LONDON
BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.



To the Catholic, as well as to the Protestant world this book is offered as some enlightenment on that important subject—the abuse of the religious sentiment. It is a book of facts. The Jesuits themselves, Catholic historians, and Protestant writers, the most impartial, furnish the groundwork. The main subject is connected with the contemporaneous history of the world during the last three centuries, which is brought home to the present times of political unrest and revolutions—and yet hopeful withal. It is a history of Human Nature—errors, crimes, and retribution—political as well as “religious”—and *therefore*, the book is impartial. Connected with no party whatever, my object has been to seek, and find, and boldly to express, the truth—such, at least, as it has appeared to me, after multitudinous consultations. For, intensely interested in the subject,

I have spared neither pains nor expense to collect such information on the subject as would enable me to put forth a decisive work, not only on the Jesuits, but the religious movement in general, which antagonised the South with the North of Europe.

To every mind the history of the Jesuits presents subjects of interest. In their exploits, the churchman, the missionary, the preacher, the educator,—all who possess influence on the minds of men, may find hints and admonitions :—their industry and perseverance are models for all humanity.

They laboured indefatigably, and received their reward in a world-encircling power. From first to last, they were never in obscurity. Like Minerva, sprung from the head of Jove, the Company of the Jesuits went forth from the brain of Ignatius, full-grown, ready for battle. In her infancy she was great—the world feared her when she won her position—the lust of conquest supervened—she exemplified the maxims of the very world which she went forth to reform—and dug the pit into which she fell, discarded by the popedom, for whose defence she was established.

It has been my object to enable the reader to judge for himself in the facts which led to that consummation. I have not indulged in the usual vituperation of the Jesuits : no animadversion will be found in this history unsupported by its fact. Neither have the apologists of

the Jesuits induced me to believe their representations. From the nearly equal mass of rancorous denunciation and defence of the Jesuits, I have endeavoured to arrive at the truth by a meditation of the times in which the Jesuits performed their part, their acknowledged method, and its results to humanity. The books written against the Jesuits would form an extensive library—so would their apologies:—even in the first century of their existence, the Jesuits put forth about one hundred works in defence of their Company or its men.

My object is simply to place a momentous subject in its truest possible light—would that all error were purely abstract—purely “indifferent”—so that we might cherish the *man* to our bosom, whilst we consign his *error* to its fittest abode.

According to the Jesuits themselves the Company was a band of angels; their friends are not less extravagant on the subject:—Vitelleschi, a General of the Company, is somewhat more reasonable and candid.

He compares the Society to the skies: the Society is Aurora; IGNATIUS is the sun; the members are the stars, “during so many years, and in so many lands, shining with the splendour of virtue, eminent and perfect. But if,” he continues, “any *comet* of disastrous result, compounded of the foul and pestilential vapours

of a world too near, should light its deadly flame among so many benign and propitious fires, we should not, on that account, condemn those skies, since even in the beautiful skies of nature we sometimes unwillingly behold the same anomaly.”¹ A bad Jesuit is therefore a comet ; but a comet is a functionary in the celestial systems ; it is a secondary cause, produced and propelled by a great Designer : then, may we substitute this Jesuit for the comet, and the spirit of Jesuitism for the great Designer ?

Thus, then, much has been said in favour of the Jesuits—more against them ; accusations have been denied, countercharges have been brought forward, and even questions of history still remain uncertain, undecided.

I am surrounded with books of every description about the Jesuits. They have all been written with one professed object in view—TRUTH. Truth has been contemplated by all ; but in how many different ways have they gazed at her charms ! Some have peered with one eye, others with half an eye ; some “ with spectacles on nose,” others with quizzing-glasses ; and not a few with that vacant stare which sees *nothing* ! It is thus with the affairs of the Jesuits ; any and every mind may find something to praise or blame in these extraordinary men, and their extraordinary achievements.

¹ Epist. 4, R. P. N. Vitell., 1639.

Almost all the authors whom I quote, are in my own possession ; and, in order to facilitate reference, I have preferred to quote works easily obtained,—but still due verification has never been omitted, when the original authorities could be procured. To Ranke I am under great obligations. His “History of the Popes in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century” is a treasury of facts, collected with vast labour, discernment, and impartiality. Mr. Kelly’s translation is so faithful and accurate, that I must also express my thanks to him, for diminishing my labour in the numerous versions I have had to make, from all the languages of Europe, in building up this temple of Jesuitism.

But there is another writer to whom I am still more indebted for the facts of a most important section of this history—I mean the Rev. M. A. Tierney, in his admirable edition of Dodd’s Church History of England. Mr. Tierney leaves us to regret that he did not completely recompose the whole history. What a frightful picture has he exhibited of the English Mission during the reign of Elizabeth and James I. ! Awful, indeed, are the disclosures of the documents now, for the first time, brought to light by this conscientious Catholic clergyman. The English Jesuits of Stonyhurst lent him their documents—apparently unaware of their contents ; and Mr. Tierney made good use of them in their damaging evidence : he laid bare the ghastliness of the Jesuit-scheme in England, and mortally offended the

descendants of Father Parsons and Garnet. The consequence was, that the gentlemen of Stonyhurst peremptorily demanded back their documents! And yet, what was Mr. Tierney's motive? He expressly declares his honourable reason, saying: "We should recur to the errors or the weaknesses of the past only to provide more effectually against the failings and the disasters of the future. It is by defending the faults, that we become answerable for the delinquencies of our predecessors: it is by a prompt and honest condemnation of their misdeeds, that we prove ourselves uninfluenced by their example, and establish the integrity of our own views. We are to judge of actions by their nature and tendency, not by the accidental relation in which their authors may stand to ourselves. Perfection is not the privilege of any order of men; and if history, contemplating the events of earlier times, condemns the encroachments of some, the jealousies of others, and the faults of all, it is not for the purpose of reviving the disputes, or embittering the recollections, of the past, but solely with a view to point out those errors which each should be solicitous to avoid."¹

Precisely the same motive has actuated me throughout this history. I have neither a "party" nor a system to uphold.

In the plan of the work, the Missionary schemes of

¹ Dodd's Church History, ii. p. 176, note.

the Jesuits form a prominent subject—together with their training, their educational system, and literature. The main history of the Jesuits, however, belongs to the first century of the Order ; thenceforward it was all retribution and downfall. Still it was my intention to enter deeply into the history of the last years of the Order before its suppression—to evolve the human mind of the age as exhibited particularly in France :—but the formidable *finis* cut short my meditations.

There are ten Books in the History, each being named after one of the *first ten Jesuits*, in the order of their *accession* to the scheme of Ignatius.

Unquestionably the work has been rapidly put forth. Nevertheless, I have no apology to make—no favour to beg. Ample preparation preceded the mere composition: what I undertook to produce, is, I believe, performed. Never will I insult the public by craving indulgence for offering of mine. Let it stand or fall by its merits or demerits. The motive which impelled me to the enterprise, will make me respectful of approval—but callous to vituperation. In the words of the unfortunate Jesuit Southwell—prefacing his “*Magdalen’s Funeral Teares*”—I may be permitted to say, “*Let the work defend itself, and every one pass his censure as he seeth cause. Many carps are expected when curious eyes come a fishing. But the care is already taken, and patience waiteth at the table, ready to take away, when*

that dish is served in, and make room for others to set on the desired fruit."

I shall conclude with the words of Dr. Wiseman :
" I know not if there be a worse class of slander than that which endeavours to affix the most odious of stigmas upon any one who shall dare to think differently from ourselves upon matters indifferent." ¹

ANDREW STEINMETZ.

Garden Cottage, Fakenham, June, 1848.

¹ Connection between Science and Revealed Religion, p. 185.

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Vol. II., p. 301, *note*, 1st line,—for “penmanship” read “composition.”

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BOOK I. OR, IGNATIUS.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE POPEDOM, RELIGION, POLITICS, MEN AND MANNERS,—
IN A WORD, THE CHRISTENDOM OF THE SIXTEENTH
CENTURY.

IN the moral, as in the physical world, effects suggest their causes. Events, in the history of individuals and nations, are moral effects, whose causes must exist. To trace these events or effects to their most probable causes, enters into the philosophy of history. One of the most remarkable events in the history of the sixteenth century was, not the *establishment* of the Jesuits, but their wonderful success and rapid development. At first sight, their origin is somewhat ridiculous. A crippled soldier in the guise of a pilgrim in rags, after collecting nine companions, reaches Rome, obtains an interview with the pope, offers him his services, his terms are accepted, a company is established, and, within sixteen years, this company is spread all over the world, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America; dividing into twelve provinces a regiment of a thousand veterans, with a hundred colleges for their head-quarters, numberless entrenchments

View of the
subject.

in the walled cities of the Christian, or flying camps in the wilds of the cannibal, influencing, for good or evil, millions of earth's inhabitants. Many causes must have conspired to produce these effects to which the origin of the Jesuits lends, apparently, no adequate interpretation. Another example of rapid development may, however, lessen our wonder, though it will not, perhaps, explain the difficulty.

Mohammed, an ignorant man, as represented, with ten followers, went forth on his mission—and within twenty years from the moment of inspiration, his followers amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand—his sceptre triumphant from the shores of the Indian to the billows of the Midland Sea. The ambassadors, who knelt before the throne of the prophet “outnumbered the dates that fall from the palm-tree in its maturity.” Without assuming national excitement to be the result of “electric evolution,” (the curious “*Kyffrawd*”¹ of an ingenious modern theorist), Mohammed's *method*, in the evident *circumstances* of his career, fully explains the causes of his wonderful success. War to the death—and fanaticism—in the midst of enervated Asiatics, bore down all before him; whilst the laws he framed for his followers made them at least comfortable in a sensual world—in wealth and strength, long to live, and cry *La Allah Il Allah*, and “Mohammed is the Apostle of God.” Here was the “word of God” to the sword of man most desperately united—and the result was commensurate.

Somewhat different was the method of Ignatius of Loyola; the crippled soldier aforesaid, in the guise of

Mohammed's
career and
method.

¹ The Geographical Progress of Empire, &c., by Rev. T. Price, 1847.

a ragged pilgrim, with his nine companions. Listen to the patriarch—the “man of God”—for his words will not beseem a soldier, though crippled and in rags. To his followers *he* said:—
 We are the company of Jesus. Under the banner of the Cross we do battle for God, and serve the pope, his vicar, on earth. You must vow perpetual chastity. You will have to labour for the advancement of souls in the way of salvation, and for the defence of the faith,—by public preaching, by the ministry of God’s word, by “Spiritual Exercises” in which you shall be duly initiated, and by works of charity. The young and the ignorant shall be the special objects of your ministry. You shall have but two objects constantly before you—God, and the design of this institute,—which you must promote with might and main, as the end proposed to you by God Almighty. But, observe, each member must confine himself to the grace vouchsafed to him, and the rank of his vocation: no one must aspire beyond his intellectual and spiritual powers, lest he be misled by the zeal of ignorance. Consequently the rank that each shall obtain, the functions that each shall perform, will be left entirely to the judgment and discretion of the Head who shall be chosen to govern the company. This Head shall be elected by the majority of votes; and the election will invest him with the right of drawing up the constitutions or statutes of the company; but the whole right of command shall be vested in the Head. There is one point of immense importance to which your attention is imperatively called. All the members must know, not only in the very threshold of their probation, but as long as they live must daily bear in mind, that the whole

The method
proposed by
Ignatius.

company, and each member thereof, must fight in faithful obedience to our most holy lord, the pope, and his successors. Doubtless, all the faithful of Christ owe obedience to the Roman pontiff as their head, and the vicar of Jesus Christ ; but *we* have judged it expedient, in all humility, and perfect self-denial (besides the common bond aforesaid), to bind ourselves by a *special* vow to go whithersoever the pope shall be pleased to send us for the advancement of souls and the defence of the Faith. Without excuse, without a moment's hesitation, whether he send us to the Turks or other infidels, even to the Indies—to heretics or schismatics—in a word, to any and every place, without exception. In conclusion, you need not be told that all must vow obedience to the head of the company. Of course, all must vow perpetual *poverty*.¹

For God—for the Pope—for the Company:—a special vow of obedience to the pope :—absolute power vested in the chief of the company to whom obedience is vowed ;—chastity and poverty, the additional vows of each member—public preaching, spiritual functions, works of charity, and a prospective glance at “colleges,”—such are the broad ways and means of the institute whose expansion was so wonderful. Assuredly they are not adequate to account for that wonderful development. Something similar, if not identical, had existed, and still existed, in the various institutions of monks—the Orders of St. Francis, St. Dominic, St. Benedict. The design or scheme of Ignatius was not entirely original—unless we confine the peculiarity of his institute to

Three probable causes of his success.

¹ See the Bull establishing the Jesuits, *Litt. Apost. Paul III. Soc. Jesu Approbatio*.

the fact that the Jesuits were to be papal emissaries scattered over the world,—emancipated from convents, and yet essentially monks, by the obligations of their vows. But the pope could always insure the services of the monks : they were always ready to obey the Holy Father. Such being the case, why was this new order established ? And being established, how are we to account for its wonderful success ? It is evident that the secret of this Founder's success is not contained in the proposals of his institute : there was nothing in them likely to captivate, by novelty,¹ the admiration of the pope—for even the promise of obedience to his holiness was but a promise depending upon individual dispositions for its complete fulfilment. Still, the fact of success suggests, at once, three probabilities—that Ignatius was an extraordinary worker—that circumstances favoured his scheme—and that the state of the world at that time was exactly the medium best adapted to facilitate his advancement—like the peculiar fluid in which planets revolve round about their centres. Therefore, as in the case of Mohammed, we have to investigate the circumstances in which Ignatius went forth to fight, and conquer, and raise a shrine whereat to receive ambassadors from all the quarters of the habitable world, “outnumbering the dates that fall from the palm-tree in its maturity.” These circumstances may give the force of originality to the scheme of Loyola, or present its results as those of a skilful adaptation of old materials. The investigation must begin with the sixteenth century—some forty years before the rise of the Jesuits. The popedom—religion—politics—men and manners—

¹ Ribadeneyra, the Jesuit, proves this in his “*Tratado—De la Compañia de Jesus,*” which will be noticed in Book III. of the present work.

in a word, the Christendom of those times must be understood, ere we accompany Ignatius and his followers in their wondrous expedition, sailing forth from the Apostolic port to invade the universe, under the most favourable auspices.



Ivinus et Romæ scitatum oracula ; et illo
Sidere nos jussit solvere Roma ratem.¹

Ever memorable in the annals of art, science, and politics, the sixteenth century is equally remarkable for the position successively occupied by the popes of Rome. Alexander the Sixth began the century. He bought the popedom; and was fiercely ungrateful to the cardinals whose ambition and avarice he tempted. His whole pontificate exhibits an unequalled career of private vice and public atrocity. But Alexander was unquestionably a man of talent : his

Alexander
the Sixth.

¹ *Imago Primi Sæculi Soc. Jesu*, p. 46.

reign was prosperous. It is difficult to decide how far we are to hold the pope guilty of those public crimes in which his son, Cæsar Borgia, was most deeply concerned. The son was ambitious ; the father was intent on the aggrandisement of his house :—let them share the infamy of their crimes. Their aim was to put down the aristocratical factions of Italy. That was the age when monarchs became jealous of rival power, and were struggling to crush the worms of pettier tyrants who crawled within their precincts. Dreadful times for aristocrats were those of Pope Alexander ! His terrible son, Cæsar Borgia, was one of those many historical characters to whom ambition and fierce desires make all things lawful—such characters as throng on the page of history which is condemned to narrate the glorious deeds of the sixteenth century. Cæsar Borgia could brook no rival. His own brother stood in his way ; he had him murdered one night, and thrown into the Tiber. They had both just supped together at their mother's ! Their father, the pope, entirely connived at the dreadful parricide—for he undoubtedly dreaded the same fate from his ferocious son.¹ Cæsar Borgia killed his father's favourite Peroto—killed him beneath the very pontifical mantle ; the victim clinging close to his patron : the blood spurted on the pope's face. Cæsar Borgia triumphed in his crimes. Rome, and the States of the Church, bowed to his sway. Think not that he lacked what many did think, and many still may think, redeeming qualifications in his dread depravity. Of surpassing beauty, and wonderful strength of arm, was this blood-thirsty villain : in the bull-fight, he would

¹ “*Connivente prorsus ad immane parricidii scelus patre pontifice, qui et ipse vim sibi afferri ab efferato filio procul dubio metuebat.*”—*Panvinus, Alex. VI.*

strike off the brute's head at a single blow. And he was liberal-handed withal—not without traits of magnanimity,—as if to prove, for the shame of humanity, that the most venerable virtues, or what seem such to the world, are not necessarily estranged from the most detestable vices ; for, as we have seen, he was bloody, and Rome trembled at his name. Cæsar needed gold, and had enemies : every night the corpses of murdered men were found in the streets. Every man held his breath ; for there was none who might not fear that his own turn would come next. Those whom violence could not reach were taken off by poison. There was but one spot where such deeds were possible ; that spot alone where unlimited power, and the highest spiritual authority, were united in the same individual : this spot Cæsar occupied. Even monstrosity has its perfection. Many sons and nephews of the popes have attempted similar things ; but none ever carried them to such a pitch : Cæsar was “a virtuoso in crime.”¹ The reader will be surprised, doubtless, to hear that this man was made *archbishop* of Valencia, and a *cardinal*, by his father. “He showed himself worthy of such a father,” says the Jesuit Feller, “by his guilty passion for his own sister Lucretia, and by the murder of his elder brother, who was his rival.”² The same authority calls him “a monster of debauchery and cruelty ;” and every historian is of the same opinion as to facts, a few of which have been given.

Respecting the indirect influence of the great, by position or genius, on the mass of men, experience attests that the mere rumour of their guilty lives is

¹ Ranke's vigorous expression — “Cesar ist ein virtuoso des verbrochens.”
I. p. 52.

² Biog. Univ. Alex. VI.

sufficient, without actual proof, to supply those samples to which profligate hearts yearn to conform. Truly or falsely were the blackest crimes laid to the charge of Alexander the Sixth, it mattered little ; the influence of those rumours, with the conduct of his hideous son (whom he idolised), before them, was necessarily disastrous to the morals of the age. Was it not believed that the pope had purchased the tiara ? and did not opinion find in his subsequent conduct facts which tallied with that incipient simony ?

The influence of example.

"He sells the keys, the altars, Christ himself :
By right he sells what he has bought with pelf."¹

Every crime was attributed to him—murder, assassination, poisoning, simony, and incest.² "He played during his whole life a game of deception ; and, notwithstanding his faithless conduct was extremely well known," says Machiavelli, "his artifices always proved successful,"—a proof that decided success proves not the decided integrity of schemes. Oaths and protestations cost him nothing, says the same authority ; never did a prince so often break his word, or pay less regard to

¹ "Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum ;
Vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius."

² An epitaph was written for Lucretia, his licentious daughter, as follows :

"Here lies Lucrece, a Thais in her life—
Pope Sixtus' daughter, daughter-in-law, and wife."
"Hic jacet in tumultu Lucretia nomine, sed re
Thais, Alexandri filia, sponsa, nurus."

This epitaph has been attributed to Sannazarius, but I have been unable to find it among his works : the following epigram, on the same subject, is certainly his :

"Ergo te semper cupiet, Lucretia, Sextus ?
O fatum diri nominis : hic pater est."

Sannaz. Epigram. l. ii. No. 4.

his engagements. This was because he so well understood this chapter in the art of government, adds the political philosopher, with wonderful complacency.¹ Possibly Alexander the Sixth was the model of Machiavelli's *Prince*—the all-famous *Principe*—that *gospel-book of the sixteenth century*.

Alexander the Sixth has thus been universally denounced : Catholics and Protestants have united in blasting his memory : the Jesuit Reeve styles him "the infamous Borgia."² Some there are who speak and write of his vices and crimes with a sort of gusto, because they seem to reflect on the religion of Catholics. Cruel, unjust, absurdest of imputations ! Who charges the religion of Protestants with the vices and crimes of Henry the Eighth ? It is not the religion of Catholics that explains the impurity of an Alexander's guilt, but the position of the popedom in the sixteenth century. Such a character at the head of the faithful—such a striking deviation from moral rectitude, even assuming him to have been slandered in some points,—was more to be lamented on the score of inconsistency. It was a sad position for "the successor of St. Peter," "the head of the church," "the vicar of Christ." But was it not, somehow, a natural position for an absolute monarch, as the error of the church permitted the father of the faithful to become, when the poverty (so beautiful and consistent) of the apostolic brotherhood first vouchsafed to humanity was no more ? This was the prime error of

The prime error of the church.

¹ Il Principe, c. xviii.

² Hist. of the Christian Church, p. 428. Why is the title S. J. (Societatis Jesu) omitted in the title-page of *this* Jesuit's book ! See Dr. Oliver's Collections, p. 178.

the church—the error on which all others hung flapping to and fro as the winds of the passions listed—on a sunny sea of temptation. Temporal power assumed or received by the spiritual guides of men, was contrary to the will of Him who sent them forth to be “ministers” —servants, not to “exercise dominion.”¹ In open defiance of the sacred counsel, the shepherd of the flock became a prince of many people, even as “the princes of the Gentiles,”—and how could the promise be kept, that “the gates of hell should not prevail against the church,” if its very head was in direct contravention of the most urgent of these conditions, *all* of which were to be complied with to eventuate that fulfilment? And, alas! how fearfully did the popes do as “the princes of the Gentiles!” They were kings—and the vices of kings had long ceased to be exceptions to the general rule; if not a matter of course, these vices were certainly a matter of notoriety. Long before Alexander VI. there had been popes of reprobate character, and yet enjoying, as heads of the Christian Church, the name and prerogatives of sanctity. But who could deem holy that Urban VI., who, to glut his revenge against those cardinals who opposed his election, had them tied up in a sack and drowned in the sea of Genoa?² Who could deem holy that Boniface VIII., of whom it was truly said that he entered the papacy

¹ “But Jesus called them unto him, and said, Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them: but it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant—even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.”—Matt. xx, 25, *et seq.*

² “Quibus dum Genuam pontifex defertur, ex septem cardinalibus Nuceriae captis, quinque saccis involutos, in mare demersit.”—*Plat. de Vit. Pont.* p. 206.

like a wolf, ruled like a lion, and died like a dog,—the terror he lived of all kings and nations, and an insatiate lover of gold?¹ In the ages of faith flourished these “vicars of Christ.” Verily, notorious and infamous crimes have immortalised the memory of popes. And early did the human mind shrink back, horror-stricken at the awful inconsistency. Even in the fourteenth century, when men had scarcely dreamed of shaking off the bonds of superstition—in the age of vagabond pilgrimages and hobgoblins—it was one of the first glad tidings of coming freedom, when the earliest promoters of literature, in bold and daring numbers, sang the crimes and punishments of lawless, godless popes. In the realms of woe eternal, the genius of poesy found them. Ineffectual wails, unsatisfying torments, embodied the poetic conception, the infernal merits of those who abused the sacred sentiment of religion in the human breast, to suit their selfish purposes, their guilty passions: at the sight of whom Dante invoked the name of *Simon Magus*, and sounded forth his terrible trumpet.² Pope Anastasius in the deep abyss by an

¹ “Moritur hoc modo Bonifacius ille, qui imperatoribus, regibus, principibus, nationibus, populis, terrorem potius quam religionem injicere conabatur; quique dare regna et auferre, pellere homines ac reducere pro arbitrio animi conabatur, aurum undique conquistum plus quam dici potest, sitiens.”—*Plat. de Vit. Pont.* p. 187; *Leti, Vit. de Sist. V.* i. 15. A curious anecdote is related of this pope, by the same honest Catholic: “We certainly know,” says Platina, “what he said to Prochetus, the Archbishop of Genoa, who was kneeling before him on a certain Ash-Wednesday. For whereas it is customary for the priest on that occasion to say, ‘Remember, man, that thou art ashes, and into ashes shalt return;’ Boniface exclaimed, substituting the words, ‘Remember, man, that thou art a *Gibelline*, and with the Gibellines into ashes shalt return;’ whereupon he flung the ashes into his eyes, and not on his head, as is usual.”—*Plat. de Vit. Pont.* p. 186.

² “O Simon Mago, O miseri sequaci,
Che le cose di Dio, che di bontate
Deono essere spose, e voi, rapaci,
Per oro e per argento adulterate;
Or convien che per voi suoni la tromba,” &c.—*Infern.* c. xix.

inscription he recognised,¹ whilst his church on earth, as he found her, was “sunk under the weight of her crimes, and polluted with mire and filth.” In hell he found Nicholas III. planted with his heels upwards, waiting till Boniface VIII. arrives, who is to take his place—to be in his turn relieved by Clement V., *un pastor senza legge*, a lawless shepherd.² The milder spirit of Petrarca is roused on this subject of Roman depravity, to a higher pitch of indignation. In one of his sonnets he assimilates the papal court to Babylon—

“ L'avara Babilonia ha colmo 'l sacco
D'ira di Dio, e di vizj empj e rei
Tanto, che scoppia ; ed ha fatti suoi Dei
Non Giove e Palla, ma Venere e Bacco.”³

To him, Rome is a fountain of grief, the dwelling of wrath, the school of error, and the temple of unbelief. He pours forth with wrathful energy every epithet of disgrace against the *putta sfacciata*—the unblushing thing of iniquity.⁴

Catholics easily account for their devotion to the holy see, in spite of its historical abominations, which, however, very few of them are aware of —their accredited histories in common use, “with permission of authority,” veiling the subject with painful dexterity. When the matter is alluded to, a specious argument, with its clever distinctions, satisfies at least the bold propounders of theory against fact. They will tell you: we distinguish the *holy see* from the *court of Rome*. The pope, when representing the former in the spiritual

The holy see
and the court
of Rome.

¹ Inferno, c. xi.

² Ib. xix. 83.

³ Sonn. xv.

⁴ Sonn. xvi.; Roec. Leo X. ii. 84. See also, Rosetti, Disquisit. *passim*.

government of the church, cannot err, being inspired by the Holy Ghost, and having received his impeccability, in that capacity, from Christ, when he said: "*I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not.*" And when the pope goes astray, it is as prince of the *Roman Court*—the famous, or rather infamous, *Corte di Roma*—which is subject to all the passions, to all worldly interests, all the maxims of state policy, so often pernicious in their results—all the tortuous shifts of hireling machinations—the urgency of war—revenge, secret and public—display, pomp, factions, cliques—in fine, to all the passions notorious and infamous in the worst rulers of men.¹

Why not, then, elect two popes? Let one be king of Rome and its court. Let the other be *Dairi*, as in Japan, only concerned with spirituals—faith, morals, bulls, and dispensations. By such a plan we might almost go back to the apostolic simplicity of church-government. The present time urgently requires something of the sort: already we begin to see how impossible it is, in spite of splendid promise, for a pope of Rome to shake off utterly his ancient self.²

What the
present time
requires.

¹ Leti, Sisto V. lib. i.

² There is an old prophecy, known perhaps to the learned of the Catholic church, under the name of *Prophetia Malachia*, professing to give, by symbols, the characteristic of each successive pope or his pontificate. The symbol of Pius IX., the present pope, turns out to be very striking; it is *De balucis Æthuriæ*, that is, *out of the drinking-pots of Etruria*. Perhaps some will find it as difficult to accord the "promises" of the present pope with what he can, or means to do, in the way of "regeneration," as it is to explain the meaning of his mysterious motto, as conceived by Malachy at least It is, moreover, very curious to find that there will be only *eleven* more popes! At all events, there remains only that number of symbols. Whether we are approaching the end of the popedom, or of the world so nearly, is the serious question. However, after the last motto, we are told that "the Roman Peter will sit in the last persecution—and the tremendous judge will judge his people—Finis—the End." See the Jesuit Arsekin, *Theol. Trip.* p. 78.

The disreputable characters of the popes interfered not with their spiritual pretensions—their power over the nations of earth and her princes. These pretensions have sent down their names to posterity, coupled with the humiliation of kings and popes, impelled by “public opinion” which was guided by the superstitions of the age, to kiss the hand that hurled them to the dust. Public opinion was led away captive by the arts which practised on the religious instinct of men. The acknowledged Father of the Faithful, Vicar of Jesus Christ, Temple of the Holy Ghost, and Keeper of the Keys of Heaven and Hell, triumphed aloft on the clouds of Public Opinion. That was the fact—the natural fact—for it is absurd to suppose that such spiritual domination could be simply usurped. It was the accumulated result of skilful management; and was finally dreaded, if not universally revered, or conscientiously conceded. The arms of that power were forged on the anvil of superstition, in the midst of barbarism—midnight darkness of mind. Scarcely remarkable in the first ages of the church, the See of Rome continued the struggle for supremacy over other Sees: but from the beginning of the seventh century to the middle of the eighth, the bishop of Rome was acknowledged the Head of the Church. From that period to the middle of the eleventh century, he was not only the Head of the Church, but a temporal prince of Italy:—and thenceforward to the present time, the pope has been the “Vicar of Jesus Christ,” and sovereign of the ecclesiastical states of Italy, with more or less of “temporal power” in other kingdoms, according to circumstances.¹

The source of
papal domi-
nation, and
its expansion.

¹ Zopf, t. i. 357.

Gregory VII. led off the band of fulminating pontiffs. He founded his domination with these words : *I excommunicate thee*. With these words the old man changed the face of his world. With this weapon he forced kings to yield to the pope those domains destined for the support of his clergy and his own comfort and consolation.

Soon these papal troops were cantoned in every quarter of Christendom, whilst all the property of the monks — domains vast and well cultivated — became the appurtenance of the sovereign pontiff. Wherever priests were found they were the subjects of the pope. The wealth of Europe, from bound to bound, went to fill the coffers of the Vatican, and Gregory, the universal monarch, had, so to speak, a foot in all the kingdoms of Christendom. The clergy, the popedom, Italy herself, became, by a single stroke, the central point of Christian Europe ; thenceforth Rome was the common country of the priesthood. This vast ecclesiastical confraternity, receiving directly from the Vatican their power, their splendour, their fortune, no longer belonged to any king or country. Rome gave the law to the world.¹ As a set-off against this splendid domination of the popedom, we are told that the papal power held in check the tyranny of kings, protected the weak by mysteriously overwhelming the strong in those darksome days of man's troublous history. The proofs of this assertion are required—proofs plain and unequivocal—bereft of the tinsel of poetry or the clap-traps of rhetoric. The stern page of history declares that popes have rarely interfered in the wicked concerns and encroachments of kings, when *ecclesiastical prerogatives* were not at stake.

¹ Foscolo, Dante e il suo Secolo. Scelt. Op. i.

The Emperor Henry IV. was deposed by Gregory in 1076 ; Frederick I. was deposed by Alexander III. in 1160 ; Otho IV. in 1211, and King John of England by Innocent III., and Innocent IV. deposed Frederick II. in 1245. These facts seem to announce that the successors of Gregory possessed somewhat more than moderate power ; but what Gregory gained by spiritual arms succeeding popes expanded in a manner more in accordance with that of "the princes of the Gentiles."¹ Alexander the Sixth, more than any, "proved to the world what a pope was capable of doing by means of men and money."² His whole pontificate was spent in vice and spoliation and murder. Still he was endured by the Catholic Christians of those times ; he died in prosperity, his coffers filled with more than a million of golden ducats. He died by poison, as is commonly believed. He coveted the wealth of certain courtiers and cardinals, and resolved to poison them at a feast to which they were invited. The poisoned wine was given to himself by mistake : he lingered awhile, and died in the seventy-second year of his age, and the eleventh of his pontificate, A.D. 1503.³

¹ The reader has been reminded of the positive command of Christ to his apostles, touching "temporal power." The following piece of claptrap by a modern Catholic writer is as curious as it is absurd : "If he (the pope) had remained a simple individual or private subject, he could not have enjoyed the liberty necessary for the discharge of his duties as head of the universal church. The circumstances, therefore, which raised him to the rank of a temporal sovereign, are to be attributed to the dispensations of a wise Providence (!) who regulates events for the good of religion ; who saw how necessary it was that the sovereign pontiff should have temporal power enough to be independent (!) but not too much to divert him from the discharge of his spiritual functions, and gave him exactly (!) that moderate power." *Dublin Review*, xl. The words of Christ are, "It shall not be so among you." Matt. xx. 25, *et seq.*

² Machiav. *Il Principe*, xi.

³ Panv. Alex. VI. The case of the poisoning has been denied : but not
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Whilst we shrink from reproaching his religion with his crimes, the fact of such a man being the head of the church, and suffered to remain so, is highly characteristic of the age. Nor was he deficient in those other qualifications in which that age, like every other since that time, delighted ; his vices seemed to be compensated by talents by no means vulgar. He was fluent of speech, had a good memory, great application, and a natural fund of eloquence and persuasion, which proved to be the ruin of many. His art of captivation was irresistible. Better than any man of his time, he could accommodate himself to all, adapting his conversation with great dexterity, according to circumstances,—pleasant subjects for the gay, serious topics for the grave. The care and government of the Christian republic occupied his deliberations with the cardinals. With kindness and patience he subdued and fettered his opponents. The most implacable of his enemies he converted into his staunchest friends. At the destruction of the many barons whom he sacrificed, no public cry of indignation was heard, no insurrection occurred ; he obviated resistance by his presence in every transaction, and in important matters he confided little in others.¹ Enough in these sterling qualities to account for Alexander's prosperity. He was remarkably temperate in eating and drinking, and indulged but a short time

Alexander VI.
a man of the
sixteenth cen-
tury.

satisfactorily. See *Rosc. Leo X. i. 469*, for the authorities ; and *Ranke* for a very interesting extract from *Sanuto*, touching the fatal supper. *Hist. of the Popes*, p. 339, App. ; *Sannazarius*, a contemporary, wrote as follows :

“Mirum, si vomuit nigrum post fata cruorem

Borgia ! quem biberat, coquere haud potuit.”

Epigram. ii. 30.

¹ *Panv. Alex. VI.*

in bed. He admired and cherished the arts ; he punctually paid the pensions of learned men, the stipend of his soldiers, and the wages of his workmen.¹ Such a line of conduct was decidedly calculated to make and insure many friends ; vice is commonly winked at when it is not accompanied by meanness and insolvency. Alexander's brain was certainly one of extraordinary vigour and texture : it remained unimpaired to the last.² Nor was this "infamous Borgia" (to borrow the Jesuit's epithet) devoid of *professional* instinct. He issued "a pompous Bull" to authorise the kings of Spain and Portugal, at their request, exclusively to hold their contingent possessions in the New World, "with a view of propagating the Christian religion among the savages by the ministry of the Gospel."³ If this was really Borgia's motive, it proves, apparently, that although horrid vice was his nature as a man, clerical zeal was his instinct as a pope, and that the things are not incompatible. It is sometimes difficult to account for certain facts without assuming this probability. In effect, Alexander the Sixth blended spirituals with temporals—the spirit and the flesh—to an uncommon degree ; in a picture, painted for him by Pinturicchio,

¹ Panv. Alex. VI.

² Rosc. Leo X. i. Combe, the phrenologist, has pictured and spread Alexander's skull all over the world, to "illustrate" the horrid "animal propensities," but decidedly it had other "bumps" not to be sneered at. His *position and profession* were his spiritual ruin. No "developments" are to be despaired of if we only learn to manage them. Nature can never be contrary to the Christian's duty. It is curious to note similar "developments" in Leo X. ; certainly by phrenology, *sweepingly applied*, Leo and Alexander should rank together.

³ Reeve, Jesuit, *ubi supra*, p. 428. This was considered a *bond fide* grant, or at all events acted upon as such, by the Spanish king subsequently, when he instanced the Bull in his complaint against Drake for plundering his ships in his papal seas. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 112, Camden, an. 1580. See also Pereira, Pol. Ind., l. i. c. x.

the beautiful *Julia Farnese*, his mistress, is represented in the sacred character of the Virgin Mary, whilst Alexander himself appears in the same picture, as supreme pontiff, paying to her the tribute of adoration!¹ This fact is strikingly characteristic of the man whose conduct must necessarily have had immense influence on the Christendom of those days.

Two other facts are not much less remarkable. Alexander made many cardinals for "a consideration" in money; and he actually gave a refuge at Rome to the *Marranos*, or "converted Jews," expelled from Spain—thereby mortally offending the Catholic king. What a noble instance of primitive toleration, perhaps you exclaim: but the fact is, Alexander took advantage of Ferdinand's tyrannical bigotry to increase his own revenue: he derived a large revenue from a capitation-tax which he imposed on the unfortunate children of Israel! Money paid for everything in the Holy City.² Panvinus, a Catholic historian, who wrote about sixty years after Alexander's exit, thus sums up the pope's character. His political talents were thrown in the shade by his more than Punic perfidy, his dismal

¹ Roscoe, *ubi supra*, i. 196. This Julia Farnese was sister to Alexander Farnese, afterwards *Paul III.*, pope of Rome. Amongst the credited rumours of those times, it was said that Farnese, her brother, bargained for his cardinal's gown from the pope, with his sister's honour—*Alexander Sexto . . . ad usum . . . pro rubro galero dedit.* Sleidan and Vergerius evidently fished in the muddy pools of scandal. However, rumours are historical influences, and they tend to account for events, or at least the opinions of men touching events. It was the same *Paul III.* who established the *Jesuits*. It had been better for the *Jesuits* had their origin been sanctioned by the good Pope Adrian VI., whose character none but bad *Catholics* impugned.

² "Omnia venditarentur, nihilque pecuniæ negaretur . . . Magnum quoque vectigal ex his quos vulgus Maranos vocabat, à rege Catholico ex Hispaniâ pulsos, et ab se Romæ, magnâ cum ejus regis indignatione, susceptos, colligebat." —*Panv. Alex. VI.*

cruelty, boundless avarice and rapacity, and his ever-craving desire of acquiring power for his son, *per fas et nefas*, without a scruple at the means employed. When not engaged in business he gave himself to every kind of pleasure, without exception. He was particularly addicted to women, and had four sons and two daughters. Vannocia, a Roman lady, was the chief of his mistresses. His favourite entertainments were comedies and other pastimes; and he would often take his stand on the Mole of Adrian, on festive days, to see the masks as they passed.¹ He gave a magnificent equestrian display, and a hunting party on the Vatican, to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter. Never before had cut-throats and assassins enjoyed more licence: never did the people of Rome possess less freedom. The number of informers was immense: for the slightest murmurs or malediction the penalty of death was awarded.² Footpads swarmed in every street: bandits in every highway: it was unsafe to walk the city by night, or the suburbs by day. Rome was become a general place of execution and slaughter,—which the pope permitted to gratify his children and relatives, whom in all things he indulged.³

It is generally admitted that this pontificate is the darkest in the annals of Papal Rome. Details abundant and disgusting, of the general demoralisation of those times, may be found elsewhere:⁴ but that depravity of morals did not *begin*

State of
morals in
the church.

¹ The expression is mysterious—"si quid elegantius in hominum genere per viam præteriret."

² This state of things accounts for a fact advanced in favour of this pope—that "during his whole pontificate no popular tumult ever endangered this pope's authority or disturbed his repose." Roscoe, Leo X. i. 195.

³ Panv. Alex. VI. See Roscoe, *ubi supra*.

⁴ Burchard, "Diarium"—Fabre, "Contin. of Fleury's Hist. Eccl.," and

with Alexander's pontificate. Platina, a contemporary, a pious Catholic, befriended and honoured by pope Sixtus IV., adverts with lamentation to the growing evil—the multiplied iniquity. He glances back to times anterior, when immorality, as he believed, deserved and brought down Pagan persecution on the Christian church :—when the ministers of the gospel, pale with envy, puffed up with pride, distracted with feuds, agitated by mutual hatred, seemed better versed in the principles of tyranny than the duties of the priesthood, utterly forgetful of Christian piety, profaned rather than celebrated the sacred mysteries.¹ This vivid contemplation of the *third* century of the Church—when a *saint*² was the bishop of Rome—inspires the historian with prophetic fire, which bursts forth as follows. “But what do we think will happen in these our times, when our vices have increased to such an extent that they scarcely leave us any place for mercy with God? How great is the avarice of our priests, especially of those who possess supreme power! How great is their lust seeking its objects in every quarter; how great their ambition and display; how much pride and sloth; how great their ignorance of themselves and of Christian doctrine; how little religion, and that rather counterfeit than true; how corrupt their morals,

many others give details on the subject; it is sufficient here to call attention to the fact—

“Hoc est viator : reliqua non sinit pudor.
Tu suspicare, et ambula.”

See his Epitaph in *Sannazar. Epig.* li. 29.

¹ “Hi enim livore, superbiâ, inimicitia, odiis inter se certantes, tyrannidem potius quam sacerdotium sapere videbantur, Christianæ pietatis omnino oblitæ, ac divina mysteria profanantes potius quam celebrantes.”—*In vita S. Marcellini.*

² *Marcellinus*, considered a *saint* because he suffered martyrdom, although he was before induced by fear to worship the strange gods,—“*deos alienos adoravit.*” *Ibid.*

(even such as were to be detested in profane men or seculars) I need not declare, since they sin openly and publicly, as though they were seeking praise for their enormities! Believe me; and Heaven grant that I prove a false prophet!—the Turk, that foe of the Christian name, will come upon us; a more violent enemy than Diocletian or Maximian. He strikes at the gates of Italy. Slothful and steeped in sleep—more intent upon our private pleasures than the common welfare—we await our universal downfall.”¹

Pius III., Alexander’s successor, reigned six-and-twenty days: his was a nominal pontificate, amidst strife and commotion, resulting from the feuds of the former. Then Julius II. assumed with the tiara the sword of Mars, which he wielded like a warrior. His heart was ferocious and wrathful, says the Jesuit Pallavicino:² he retained only the garb and name of pope—inveterate in simony and

Julius II.

¹ In the Italian translation of Platina, published in 1703, *con licenza de’ Superiori*, the whole of this most striking and remarkable passage is *suppressed*. It was perhaps too honest a testimony against the patrons of abuses, to stand upon record. Here is the original. “Sed quid futurum nostrâ ætate arbitramur? quâ vitia nostra eò crêvere, ut vix apud Deum misericordiæ locum nobis reliquerint. Quanta sit avaritia *Sacerdotum*, et eorum maximè *qui rerum potiuntur*,—quanta libido undique conquisita,—quanta ambitio et pompa,—quanta superbia et desidia,—quanta ignoratio, tum sui-ipsius, tum doctrinæ Christianæ,—quàm parva religio, et simulata potius quam vera,—quàm corrupti mores, vel in profanis etiam hominibus (quos seculares vocant) detestandi, non attinet dicere, cum ipsæ ita apertè et palam peccent, ac si inde laudem quærerent. Veniet (mihi credite, utinàm falsus sim vates), veniet Turcus hostis Christiani nominis, Diocletiano et Maximiano violentior. Italiæ claustra jam pulsant. Nos desides et somnulosi, interitum communem expectamus, voluptati privatæ potius quàm communi utilitati consulentes.”—*Plat. in vitâ Marcellini, in fine.*

“It is certain,” says Muratori, “that the cardinals in those days, instead of electing the best man, as they ought to have done, elected the worst, in favour of human cupidity: the fault of bad example, and of the corruption then prevailing, through which some popes even went so far as to boast of having children.”—*Annali*, t. ix. p. 366.

² “Era Giulio di cuor feroce ed iracundo.”—*Lib. i. c. 1.*

infamous immorality, says Guicciardini.¹ For a certainty by many proofs there was in Julius the greatest ferocity of mind, which neither his age nor his dignity could correct or moderate ; he knew no bounds in any of his measures, but was blindly driven headlong by his passions, says Paruta.² He stormed in person, and carried the town of La Mirandola against the French, whom he expelled from Italy. Julius triumphed for a time over his enemies : but it was a significant fact, a prognostic of coming events, when a body of cardinals and bishops cited their pope to appear before a council to answer the charges levelled at his exorbitant pretensions ; and, finally, at his refusal to appear, pronouncing a sentence of suspension against the Father of the Faithful. Nor is it less remarkable that these “schismatics” actually “went through all the forms of a legal council, invoked the assistance of the Holy Ghost, chose a president, and called themselves the legal representative of the whole Church, whom all are bound to obey.”³ This event took place in 1512. Of course these presumptuous mortals were severely punished : all were duly excommunicated—deprived of their benefices and dignities. The kingdom of France, whose king, Lewis XII., was their abettor, was laid under an interdict, with direst anathema, by the vindictive pontiff, who forthwith summoned the fifth council of Lateran, “to regulate with great care whatever concerned the state and welfare of the church, the

¹ “Non riteneva di Pontefice altro che l'habito ed il nome—inveterato nella simonia e ne' costumi infami.”—*Lib. ii.*

² “Per certo da' molti indicii si pote conoscer in Giulio essere stata grandissima ferocità d'ingegno, la quale, nè l'età, nè la dignità fu bastante di correggere, ò di temperare. Non sapeva in alcuna sua operatione servare misura, ò temperamento ; ma quasi cieco era le più volte da gli appetiti suoi portato à precipitare.”—*Hist. Vinet. lib. i.* See also Muratori, *Annali*, ix. 83. ³ Reeve, p. 430.

reformation of manners, the extinction of schism, and the restoration of peace amongst Christian princes.”¹
A mere bank-order without proceeds.

All these cardinals were, in the next pontificate, restored to their dignities. It is admitted that their object and hope were to place a good and holy pope over the Christian church ; though we are also told that each of them secretly aspired to the dignity.²

In his difficulties the pope craved succour from Henry VIII. of England, which was granted by the future Defender of the Faith and destroyer of the Church in the “Island of Saints.” In defence of the popedom or its interests, Henry sent an army into France ; but, pressed on all sides, in the midst of his tumultuous designs, Julius died of a fever, produced by mental exacerbation at the failure of one of his political schemes : “for he was greatly ruled by his passions, and continually agitated by his desire of glory, and could not long endure the grief of seeing his designs severely disapproved by all.”³

Like his predecessor, Julius was a character of the age. He knew not what it was to entertain fear or irresolution ; even in his advanced years he possessed that grand quality of manhood ;
indomitable courage. He made but small
account of the princes of his time, thinking he could overlook them all. To the very tumult of a general war did he look with most hopes of gains ; his only care was to be always in command of money, so as to seize the favourable opportunity with all his might :

His qualities
and achieve-
ments.

¹ Reeve, p. 430 ; Dupin, iv ; Hard. Concil. ix ; Moah. ii. ² Panvin. Julius II.

³ Panv., *ubi supra* ; Paruta, *ubi supra*. It is said that his last words were,—
“*Fuori d’Italia Francezì—Fuori Alfonso d’Este !*” “Out with the French from
Italy—Out with Alfonso d’Este.” Muratori, Annali, t. ix. 33.

he desired, as was happily said by a Venetian, to be lord and master of the game of the world. He waited the fulfilment of his desires with impatience, but he kept them confined to his own breast. If we inquire what was the circumstance that enabled him to assume his peculiar attitude, we find it was, above all things, that he was free to avow his natural tendencies, nay, openly to profess them and make them his boast. The re-establishment of the state of the Church was regarded by the world of that day as a glorious enterprize: it even considered it a religious one: all the pope's steps were directed towards this one end,—this was the idea that animated all his thoughts; they were, if I may so express myself, steeped in it.¹ Julius succeeded for a time: he made France tremble, drove her armies out of Italy, and overwhelmed the Venetians, though before his time the princes of Italy, and even the poorest barons and most insignificant nobles, regarded the bishop of Rome with indifference in relation to his temporal power.² No man can blame the pope for this ambition, considering him a king elected to defend “St. Peter's patrimony,” particularly as it appears that Julius laboured more for the good of the Church than his own private interest.³ Alexander added to the dominions of Popedom; Julius followed his example: both were politicians adapted to the age when all who had power were striving to secure or enhance it, without a scruple as to the means applied.

If politicians of the Machiavellian school may find much to imitate in the method of Alexander VI. the admirers of art may look with complacency on Julius II.; for he “patronised”

His patronage
of the arts.

¹ Rauke, p. 18.

² Machiav. II Princ. xi.

³ Id. *ibid.*

Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Bramante, if such men be not disgraced by the application of the term "patronised." "A warrior-pontiff as he was," says the *Cavaliere Abate Tiraboschi, ci-devant Jesuit*,¹ "a warrior pontiff, and totally intent on retrieving and extending the states of the Church, it seemed that he cared not much for literature and men of letters; but, man as he was, of a mighty soul and vastest ideas, he could with the same hand wield the sword and foster the arts and sciences. Julius began the erection of St. Peter's, opened a new library, favoured the professors of the fine arts, and the cultivators of polite literature."²

A new era dawned with Leo X., the successor of the warlike Julius. Characteristic was the beginning. On the day of his coronation he gave an earnest
Leo. X.
of what might be expected from him, by distributing a hundred thousand crowns of gold to the populace. Bembo and Sadolet, the best Latin scholars of the day, he made his secretaries. To the University of Rome he united the most celebrated professors of all countries. Whoever was, or fancied himself a fine poet, an eloquent orator, a polished and elegant writer, hurried to Rome, and found in Leo a friendly reception and liberal rewards. On a triumphal arch at the *Ponte S. Angelo*, a glorious inscription proclaimed to gods and men that all was accomplished:—

"Venus anon was queen—then Mars held sway—
 But now *Minerva* rules the better day."³

¹ "After the suppression of the Society, Tiraboschi was knighted by the Duke of Modena. He died in 1794. He will be noticed when I have to portray the *Literature of the Jesuits*.

² *Storia*, tom. vii.

³ "Olim habuit Cypria sua tempora,—tempora Mavors
 Olim habuit; sua nunc tempora Pallas habet."

Tirab. ubi supra; Jov. Vita, iii.

In these presiding divinities, pointed allusion was made to the very peculiar characteristics of Leo's predecessors—Alexander's licentious court with its Lucretia Borgia, and the warlike reign of Julius. There is, therefore, *history* in that inscription: it was "tolerated" by the pope, which makes it authentic.

To enlarge on the magnificent pontificate of Leo X. would be here out of place. It kept pace with the revival of the sciences then universal, if the pope's patronage was not rather too exclusive in its predilections. Men there were who saw with regret that the pope took delight in listening to light poetry and jests not always decent, and frequented comedies in which good morals were not much respected. The consequence was, that he brought discredit on the pontifical dignity, and gave rise to suspicions reflecting on his personal integrity: But a greater disadvantage was the fact that the decided preference of the pope for poetry and other light pursuits caused the grave sciences to lie neglected at a time when defenders of the Faith were becoming necessary to the Church, heresy in arms being at the gates of Rome.¹ The Jesuit Andrès is still more explicit on the subject. "The intimate familiarity," says he, "with which Leo honoured the Quernos, the Britonios, Gazaldos, and other poetasters, rather than poets, and the ardour with which he sought the gross pleasure of listening to the most vulgar companies of comedians whom he imported with vast expense from Sienna, greatly diminished the honours which he liberally

¹ Tirab. *ubi supra*. But see Jovius, *Vita*, lib. iv., for a curious disquisition on the score of the pope's morality; and Roscoe, *Life*, ii. 389, for a vindication. Tiraboschi, also, gives a defence in a note to the passage above given.

bestowed upon meritorious men of letters, and the glory that might have resulted to good poets in being invited to his court.¹ A Horace or a Virgil could little value those distinctions which brought them to the level of a Bavius and a Mævius."²

The political events of Leo's pontificate were in the line chalked out by his immediate predecessors : but they are insignificant in comparison with the moral demonstrations of his times. It is impossible not to identify this pope with the age to which he gave so striking an example.

The man's
nature, the
pope's weak-
ness.

It seems to have been his intention to pass his time cheerfully, and to secure himself against trouble and anxiety by all means in his power. He sought all opportunities of pleasure and merriment, and indulged his leisure in amusement, jests, and singing ;—either induced by a natural propensity, or from an idea that the avoiding of vexation and care might contribute to lengthen his days.³

He was fond of music : he conferred the archbishopric of Bari on Gabriel Merino, whose chief merit consisted in the excellence of his voice.

The lowest species of buffoonery gave him delight :—his courtiers and attendants could not more effectually obtain his favour than by introducing to him such persons as by their eccentricity, perversity, or imbecility of mind, were likely to excite his mirth.⁴

Such pursuits in a king you would not think criminal : you would only wish he had possessed a better taste—

¹ Roscoe, ii. 179, gives an account of the poetasters alluded to by André. Leo's taste, in this matter at least, was sadly at fault.

² Dell' Orig. t. i. c. xiii.

³ Roscoe, ii.

⁴ Ibid. ii.

more ennobling inclinations: but in "a man of God," as the pope ought to be, you behold them in a very different light. You look within them: you are forced to penetrate beyond their surface, into the heart's deep gulf; and you fear you perceive a dim eclipse of piety: you cannot reconcile outward dissipation with inward "recollection," or communion with God. You turn to the ascetic writers of Rome's church, and every man of them is of your opinion, from Thomas à Kempis, with his "Imitation of Christ," to the Jesuit Rodriguez, with his "Christian Perfection." You dread to seek the facts that will attest, as effects, the moral cause which you clearly perceive. You pause, and ask what was the *state* of that Church whose ruler was such as described by his panegyrists—if such was the head, you ask what were the members?

Ascetic view
of Leo's
habits.

"What a spectacle," exclaimed right-minded prelates of the Roman court, "what a spectacle does this desolation of the churches present to the eyes of a Christian who travels over the Christian world! All the shepherds have abandoned their flocks, and have left them to the care of hirelings."¹ The incumbents of benefices selected the *cheapest* substitutes to perform their sacred duties: mendicant monks were eager to "suit" and serve. These monks occupied the bishoprics under the title of "suffragans," and held the cures as vicars. To these mendicant monks extraordinary privileges were conceded; they were permitted to perform the functions of the secular clergy—all under the prominent patronage

The desola-
tion of the
Church.

¹ Concil. dilect. Cardinalium. Apud Ranke, p. 18.

of the pontiff. And yet the mendicant orders of monks were completely sunk into a state of total worldliness—that state so vividly described by Platina, as we have already seen—to which we have but to add that “murder by poison, the dagger, the sword, and fire-arms,” was the climax of their depravities.¹ “Woe, woe!” exclaims one of the prelates before alluded to, “Who gives my eyes their fountain of tears? Even those set apart are fallen off; the vineyard of the Lord is laid waste. Did they perish alone, it were an evil, yet it might be endured; but since they pervade all Christendom, like the veins of the body, their decay must needs bring with it the ruin of the world.”

Did Leo look with indifference on the growing—the *full-grown* evil? Speaking of the Holy Father, men would say “*è ben religioso—ma vuol river*”—“he is religious enough, but *he has a mind to live*,” a poor testimonial for the Father of the Faithful. It is the “but” which gives the *character*. Jovially indeed he passed his days:—at Viterbo hawking, at Corneto hunting, and on the lake of Bolsena fishing. To his favourite resort at Maliana, improvisatori and men of nimble wit thronged to enliven every hour of his joyful days.² And when winter returned, Rome eagerly received the complacent Father,

How Leo
passed his
time.

¹ “Si viene ad homicidi non solo col veneno, ma apertamente col coltello e con la spada, per non dire con schiopetti.” Apud Ranke, p. 19.

² Let the reader reconcile, if he can, with this jovial existence the account debited by the Jesuit Pallavicino, ever eager to defend and flatter the popedom. According to this bold asserter, Leo fasted twice a week, and abstained from meat once a-week, in honour of the Virgin, and every Friday fed on herbs in honour of Christ’s passion; and the Jesuit has the conscience to say,—“Such frequent *maceration* of the senses in a young prince, and in a mind eager for delights, *united as it was to the danger of shortening life*, which is cherished and

to whom she was grateful for her seeming prosperity. The number of her inhabitants was greatly increased ; there was profit for the artisan, honour for the artist, security for all, since Leo had exterminated the bandits and footpads of Alexander's pontificate. All was gladness, animation, intellectual display. The luxurious genius of the pontiff beamed in every department. No cost was too great for spiritual or secular festivals, plays and theatrical entertainments, presents and favours :—nothing was spared—yet something was, apparently, wanting. Giuliano Medici proposed to reside at Rome, with his young wife. “ God be praised,” said Cardinal Bibbiena, in a letter to him, “ for here we lack nothing but a court of *ladies* !”¹ Alluding to one of the pope's houses of pleasure, Bembo thus describes it, in the name of Leo. “ It is exquisitely adapted to gladden and rejoice the soul, owing to its admirable piazza, its many and most beautiful prospects—very commodious and roomy, with large hall and spacious chambers, beautifully adorned with a costly ceiling of gold, and tessellated pavement.”²

Nevertheless, Pope Leo was a “ diligent observer of divine things, and a lover of the sacred ceremonies,” though he did not always maintain pontifical decorum. To the sore distress of his master of the ceremonies he sometimes left Rome, not only without the proper dress, but, as his officer has noted in his journal, “ what is worst of all, with boots on his feet,”—just like any sporting gentleman not at all particular.

His zeal,
luxury, and
venality.

fostered as a sort of divinity by kings, could not have been long protracted, except by the efficacy of the *strongest piety*.”—*Hist. Concil. Trid.* l. i. c. ii. 5.

¹ Apud Ranke, p. 22, and Roscoe, *ubi supra*.

² Pet. Bembo, Epist. l. xiii. 10.

“Desperately fond of pleasure, hunting and fowling, he gave whole days to luxurious enjoyments, the most splendid banquets, and musical entertainments. To raise money, (of which he had spent largely in his buildings, his profuse donations, and war-expenses) he made cardinals for a price, and devised certain offices of state, which he sold.”¹

It is difficult to reconcile this pope’s indulged propensities with that severe religion which beseems the Head of the Church : but that was the age of sensual enjoyment ; and far from there being any one among the priesthood to stem the rushing evil, the very court of Rome joined to its sensualism the wildest notions in the matter of doctrine or belief. Men of intellectual tendencies easily frame a conscience to palliate the moral guilt of their passions : at the period in question, the Schools of philosophy endeavoured to discover that the soul of man is *mortal*. Erasmus declares his astonishment at the blasphemies that met his ears : they sought to prove to him out of Pliny, that there is no difference between the souls of men and those of brutes.² Certainly the morals of the age corresponded with no other theory.

The Church
is made a
scandal.

No sudden transformation from good to bad was that state of Christendom. Open Boccaccio’s *Decameron* and behold the mirror held up to the nature of those times—man’s good nature most horridly

¹ Roscoe, ii. ; Ranke, p. 22. “ Voluptatibus, venationibus, aucupii effusè deditus, luxui et splendidissimis convivii, musicæque magis quàm tantum pontificem deceret totos dies impenderet. Pecuniæ querendæ causâ (quùm multa tum ædificiis, tum effusis largitionibus et bellorum usibus, absumpisset), pretio cardinales aliquot legit, et officia quædam venalia excogitavit, ut cubicularios,” &c.—*Panov. Leo X.*

² Burigny, *Life of Erasmus*, i. 139 ; Ranke, 22.

perverted. All ranks of society lend their infamy to spice his pages—whose burthen is “the duped husband, depraved and depraving monks,” in an endless round of “laughter holding both her sides.” He anatomises the fourteenth century—and saps the foundations of papal power. For, “what we violently abhor, we may still justly dread : but that which we have learnt to despise ceases to be an object of terror.” His works were subsequently prohibited—but this only drove home the quivering shaft. Men’s minds were alive to the truth of his pictures—and their prohibition was their last attestation. Other writers followed in his track. The Church was made a scandal on the house tops ; her light, if she had any, was decidedly put under a bushel.

Time rolled on :—no amendment. How could the people amend when their teachers and preachers,

bishops, popes, monks—all that were
The fact attested in the Council of Lateran. “anointed,” rolled in their godless Dead Sea of guilt ? In the council of the Lateran,

Pico, nephew of the famous Mirandola, held forth under the sanction of that assembly, inveighing with great bitterness against the avarice, the luxury, the ambition, and misconduct of these ecclesiastics, who ought to have supported the dignity of the Church, not only by their intrinsic merit and virtue, but by the regularity and decency of their deportment.¹ If you

¹ *Fasc. Rer. Expet.* i. 417 ; *Roscoe*, Leo X. ii. 86. Viterbo, General of the Augustinians, made a long speech on the awful state of Christianity : “Can we see,” said he, “without shedding tears of blood, the disorders and corruption of the perverse age in which we live ; the monstrous disorders which reign in morals, the ignorance, ambition, debauchery, libertinism, impiety triumphing in the Holy Place, whence these shameful vices should be for ever banished,” &c.—*Labb. Collec. Conc. Gen.*, xiv. p. 4 ; *Dict. des Conc.* 275.

doubt the fact, turn to the decree of the eleventh session of the same Council, attesting that the ministers of religion were accustomed not only to live in a state of public concubinage, but even to derive a part of their emoluments from *permitting to others* a conduct similar to that in which they themselves indulged.¹

A reformation of morals was needed—but what did the guilty parties to counteract the scandal of their enormities? Why they—the cardinals and pontiffs of the church—resolved to silence reproach by severe denunciations, and exemplary punishment. During the pontificate of Sextus IV., regulations were established for preventing the printing of any work, excepting such as was previously licensed by an officer appointed for that purpose. Even the penalty of excommunication was held forth against all who should infringe that regulation.²

How they tried
to avert the
consequences.

The vitality of religion was no more: without even pagan morality, the churchmen of those days engrafted the mythology of Paganism on the Christian faith—such, at least, as they possessed: the abstruse mysteries and peculiar dogmas of the Christian faith were elucidated, or enveloped, in the language of Cicero, or of Virgil; and even the divine persons of the Trinity and the Holy Virgin were identified with the divinities of ancient Greece and Rome. The Father was denominated Jove, or Jupiter *Optimus Maximus*; the Son, Apollo, or *Æsculapius*, and the Virgin, Diana.³ The poets of the

Catholico-paganism.

¹ Roscoe, ib.

² Id. ibid.

³ Roscoe. The same writer gives, from the *Ciceronianus* of Erasmus, the specimen of a sermon, preached before Pope Julius II., the cardinals and prelates of his Court. Erasmus was himself present, and his account of the

day naturally imbibed the same spirit, or conformed, with the usual literary cleverness, to the taste of their readers ; for, perhaps, writers are more influenced by the taste of the age, than instrumental in its creation, as is commonly believed. Sanazzaro, the poet, and other writers of the age, constantly refer to the mythology or fable of the pagan world. On all subjects, sacred or profane, the pagan providence of gods innumerable, assumes in their sensual minds the place of that adorable Godhead, which only a simple but enlightened faith finds adequate to bestow every blessing we enjoy. Marullus wrote a series of hymns addressed, with every sentiment of piety and veneration, to the deities of ancient Greece and Rome. Bembo styled Christ a *hero*, and the Virgin Mary, the goddess of Lauretto. Nay, the pope himself, Leo X., tells the kings and princes of

matter will show the extent to which this extraordinary Catholico-paganism was carried. "The subject of the discourse was the sufferings and death of Christ. The orator commenced with an eulogium on the pope, whom he designated as Jove, and represented as vibrating in his omnipotent right hand the inevitable lightning, and regulating the concerns of the universe by his nod. In adverting to the death of Christ, he reminded the audience of the examples of the *Decii* and of *Curtius* [from the history of pagan Rome], who, for the safety of their country, devoted themselves to the infernal gods ; nor did he omit to mention, with due honour, Cecrops, Menæcius, Iphigenia [pagan worthies of classic story], and others who preferred the welfare of their country to their own existence. In moving his audience to compassionate the fate of the great author of their religion, he reminded them that the ancients had immortalised their heroes and benefactors by erecting statues to their memory, or decreeing to them divine honours ; whilst the ingratitude of the Jews had treated with every degree of ignominy the Saviour of mankind, and finally doomed him to the cross. The death of Christ was then compared with that of other excellent and innocent men, who had suffered for the public benefit, and reminded the orator of Socrates and of Phocion, who, without being guilty of any crime, were compelled to perish by the fatal draught ; of Epaminondas, who, after all his glorious deeds, was reduced to the necessity of defending himself as a criminal ; of Scipio, who was rewarded for his incalculable services by exile ; and of Aristides, who was compelled to relinquish his country, because he had been dignified with the title of the Just."—*Leo X.* ii. p. 88.

Christendom, by Bembo's classic pen, that he was made pope "by the favour of the immortal gods—*deorum immortalium beneficiis*;" and reproaching the *people* of Recanati for the bad quality of the wood they had sent for building the temple of Loretto, he commands them to send better, "lest they should seem to mock with their donation of useless wood, both himself and the *Goddess*." ¹

In the prevalence of doctrinal, as well as practical, extremes, there is always a middle course followed by the thinkers of every age. Intellect is more readily disgusted than sentiment: hence the mass of men are constantly the tools of influence, which enslaves them by the feelings. But the intellectual proudly shake off the specious charm—and in breaking the spell, rush to that extreme which sets the usual appeals to conventional *religionism* entirely at defiance. Hence there arose the *Platonists* of those days—so called from the pagan philosopher, whose doctrines seem to approach the ethics of Christianity. The theory of these intellectuals is thus clearly expressed by an ingenious author: "Besides the various systems of ethics, physics, and metaphysics, which may be traced in the writings of Plato, and his followers, they also contain a system of theology, differing, as may be expected, in many

¹ "Ne tum nos, tum etiam *Deam ipsam* inani lignorum inutilium donatione luisse videamini."—*Bemb. Epist.* lib. viii. ep. 17. See Roscoe, 88; Feller, *Bembo*; Bayle, *ibid.* Sannazarius calls the Virgin, "the certain hope of men—the certain hope of the gods:"

"Tuque adeo spes fida hominum, spes fida deorum."

De Partu Virgin., i. 19.

A Greek, but Christian poetess of old, patched up a Life of Christ from detached verses culled out of Homer: Sannazarius makes Virgil and the Sybils do the office of the prophet Isaiah in a gallant strain.

important points from that of the Romish church. As opposed to the Christian idea of the Trinity, the *Platonists* assert the notion of pure Theism, expressly maintaining the unity of the Divine Being. Instead of the rewards of heaven, and the punishments of hell, the human soul is represented by them as having been united with imperfect matter, and placed here in a state of probation ; where, by constant struggling to rise above the passions of sense, it is at length disengaged from its degrading combination, and restored to its original splendour.”¹ The great patron, and perhaps the most powerful advocate of this sect, was no other than Lorenzo de’ Medici, the *father of Pope Leo the Tenth*. His writings contain frequent allusions to the refined notions of the Platonists ; and his pieces on religious subjects, instead of conforming to the dogmas of the Church, are evidently founded on, and greatly illustrate, the principles of this theology. It was, therefore, natural that the pope himself should be favourable to the *Platonists*, as was generally supposed. Men of talent and learning became the avowed teachers of those opinions, and the inculcation of them was established as a branch of education, in almost every university of Italy. Scepticism and indifference followed as a matter of course ; and church-discipline was relaxed. The cause was apparent : but the remedy aggravated the evil. The Church spoke : it was declared by a solemn decree that the soul was immortal, and that different bodies are not actuated by a portion of the same soul, but that each has a soul peculiar to itself.² How could enactments stem the tendencies of an age—the strong

¹ Roscoe, *ib.*

² Id. 90. Vth. Lat. Sess. 8.

impulse of society ? The greatest sensualism was combined with high intellectual development.

Not alone to the classical enthusiasm of the times is this perversion of sacred things to be attributed. We must not forget the famous "Mysteries," and "Moralties," or religious comedies of preceding centuries. These were under the management of the clergy—and performed

The "Mysteries," "Miracle-plays," and "Moralties."

by the *people*. Their subjects were all the most solemn mysteries of the Christian faith, tangibly represented, and outrageously familiarised to the "meanest capacities." It was—*religion for the million*. A scaffold was erected with the three stages, one above the other. The highest was Heaven—the lowest was Hell—and the middle was Purgatory. To represent divine anger or displeasure, an organ was placed in "Paradise;" which also served to accompany the choirs of the "angels" in their song. Beneath the scaffold a monstrous dragon was constructed, whose mouth opened and shut as it belched forth the "devils" upon the stage, or received them at their exit. This was to represent the gulf of hell. To enhance the effect, culverins and cannons were introduced, *pour faire noise et tempête*—to make an infernal clatter and roar.¹ God the Father and God the Son, and the Holy Ghost were among the "personages" enacted. The divine persons delivered speeches in octosyllabics. In one of these Mysteries, entitled, *The Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, the Creation of Man is represented; and we find the following directions:—"Here God takes some mud, and pretends to make Adam; and let Adam and Eve

¹ *Mystères Inédits du XVème Siècle. Preface. Paris, 1837.*

be covered up with a covering, and let God say : Adam, get up," &c.¹

Such exhibitions were universal. They furnished *amusement* to the Christians of these days. All were invited to join in the celebration, which *materialised* spirituals.

In the sixteenth century, however, if the great, the learned, and the priesthood, had paganised their Christianity, as we have seen, what must have been
 Results. the moral notions of the lower orders? In effect we are assured, whilst the higher classes adopted notions of an anti-religious tendency, the common people were sunk into almost heathenish superstition, seeking salvation in mechanical devotion. What was young Luther's amazement when he visited Italy! At the moment when the sacrifice of the mass was accomplished, the priests blurted out blasphemies in which they denied it! In Rome it was a characteristic of good society to dispute the fundamental principles of Christianity. "One passes no longer," says Bandino, "for an accomplished man, unless he entertain some erroneous and heretical opinion of the doctrines of the church."² At court they spoke of the institutions of the Catholic church, of passages of the Holy Scriptures, only in a tone of jesting: the mysteries of faith were held in derision.³ Strange it is that it was at Rome where the mine was sprung, ready

¹ "Cy preingne Dieu du limon et face semblant de faire Adam ; et Adam et Eve soient couvert d' un convertour, et Dieu die : Adam, va sus, que je le vueil," &c.—*Mystères*, ii. 5. This curious work should be *studied* for the sake of its *Church History*. Rome is painted in her sport as much as in her sober sadness and fury. See Sismondi, i. 231 ; Penny Cyclopædia, ix. 416, *et seq.*

² "In quel tempo non pareva fosse galantuomo e buon cortegiano colui che de' dogmi della Chiesa non aveva qualche opinione erronea ed heretica."—*M.S. Life of Paul V.* apud Ranke, p. 22.

³ Ranke, p. 22.

to engulf Church authority in ruin. It was *there* that religious doubt began—or at Florence, or at Venice: it was in these mighty strongholds of Catholicism that the human mind was shaking off all doctrinal subjection—disdaining every mental yoke—“caring for no man.” Catholics admit the fact. “Gay, licentious, incredulous, the mind of these cities made a jest of all things—Christianity, morality, the clergy, and the popes themselves. Its organs were Dante, who hurls popes into hell—Petrarch, who calls Rome a prostitute—and even the monk Baptista of Mantua, who sang the *Loves of the Priests*.¹ Their books, though forbidden by censure, circulated at Rome under Julius II. and Leo X., and were in the libraries of most of the cardinals: Sadolet and Bembo² knew long passages ‘by heart,’ which they amused themselves by reciting.”³ The infamous Pietro Aretino was Leo’s acknowledged friend.⁴

Other important elements of change arrest attention. Nobles and the “Church” had hitherto been leagued together in mastering the people. The latter were now to mount a step in the social crea-
The spirit of transition.
tion—*middle ranks* were forming—that ever-powerful “interest” in every kingdom—the very bank

¹ Baptista wrote these verses:

“Vivere qui sanctè cupitis, discedite ;—Romæ
Omnia cùm liceant, non licet esse bonum.”

“You who desire to lead a holy life, depart: at Rome, though all things may be done, it is not permitted to be virtuous.” But see *Egl. V.*, ed. 1503. Baptista died in 1516. He had been general of the Carmelite monks, whom he tried in vain to reform; and resigned his hopeless charge to devote himself to literature. Feller, *Biog. Univ.*

² Bembo had been the lover of La Morosina, and *Lucretia Borgia*, Alexander the Sixth’s licentious daughter. It is not quite clear that Bembo perfected his morality as much as his latinity (for which he was famous), when he became a cardinal. The contrary is more probable.

³ Audin, *Luther*, *Introd.*

⁴ Sismondi, i. 433.

of power, and the nation's heart. Meanwhile, recall the events that had just befallen in the history of man. The Spirit of Transition was walking the earth, apparently wild and reckless, but still guided by that adorable Providence which never permits man to do all the evil he would, and turns his very evil deeds into blessings, or, rather, mitigates evil, and expands good far beyond the intention of its instruments. At the epoch to which we are hastening, Heaven was nearer to earth : enlightenment was about to come down unto men. A momentous strife was about to commence. Man's destinies being suspended—dependant on his will. All might choose ; but how many would choose aright ? For themselves, selfishly, men seemed to work : but Providence beheld them in their labours—suffered them to work as they listed, but guided results for the universal good. In the strife of selfishness—that is, in the strife of the world—we see nothing but evil whilst we are present at the conflict, and are, perchance, sufferers : but a generation has no sooner passed away, than we perceive how a merciful good God can modify, nay, totally change the effects of evil with regard to nations as with individuals. Abuses grow, fester, and rot in the heart of society. Society, like nature, strives to shake off the slough of disease. In the effort there is suffering ; but hope mitigates every human pang.

How to convey in a few words an adequate idea of this period in the sixteenth century—that century of novelties, or revivals of antiquities ! Wonderful inventions or improvements in the implements of mind—startling discoveries of unknown regions, peopled with strange brothers of the human family ! The discovery of a new planet, in its dim

The sixteenth
century cha-
racterised.

and distant orbit, produces even in this comparatively enlightened age, considerable excitement; but what must have been the effect of the discovery of a "new world" in the minds and hearts of men, then just announced, in those days of ignorance in the masses, and avarice and ambition in the great? What a subject for speculation! How it absorbed attention—exaggerated hope—multiplied schemes—expanded desire!

On the other hand, the chain of human events from the fourth or fifth century had passed onwards with its links of iron, brass, and silver, and had reached the point whence it must continue its course in gold, or something like it. The revival of knowledge. The revival of knowledge in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was only the result of a series: but events which thronged fast and vast in effects, expanded the movement. Any movement in society, when once begun, is sure to find a thousand motives in the hearts of men for its continuance, until another usurps its place in the restless mind of humanity. Expelled from the East by the conquests of the Turks in possession of Constantinople, the learned men of Greece had sought refuge in Italy. Once more did Italy receive the arts from Greece. Pagan Italy had been enlightened by pagan Greece, and now again, Christian Italy was regenerated by Christian Greece.¹ If this fact proves the innate tendency of Rome to degenerate, it also attests the bounty of Providence, which never tires in lavishing blessings on ungrateful and perverse humanity. Cosmo and Lorenzo de' Medici rose at Florence, the noble, generous, and enlightened lovers

¹ See Roscoe, *Lorenzo*; Spalding's *Italy*, &c. ii.; Sismondi, *Hist. View*, i.; Andr  , *Dell' Origine—d' ogni Letterat.* l. c. xii.; Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.* vols. V. VI.

and benefactors of science. Popes and kings were dazzled by the light suddenly blazing around, and rejoiced in its manifestation, for they did not foresee consequences about to ensue in the misty future.¹ More than five-and-twenty universities in the various capitals of Europe were founded in the fifteenth century ; beginning with that of Turin in 1405, to that of Copenhagen in 1497.² The art of printing, rapidly advancing from its rough beginning, soon multiplied the learned pages of antiquity, and students feasted thereon like bees after their winter-sleep. Their minds hitherto had scarcely felt hunger : there had been nothing to sharpen or tempt its appetite ; but now, it was an honour to be learned, ignorance had lost its fascination. Men dug up the Herculeum of antiquity, and feasted on the musty relics. Not like the school-boy at his task, nor the fireless modern commentator at his plodding, were the students of the Revival. *They* drank in the spirit of antiquity as they found it in the perfect page—free, noble, generous, gushing—and they strove to transform themselves into the minds which they so ardently

¹ There was a curious exception. Paul II, pope of Rome, in the middle of the XVth century, became alarmed at the spirit of research and inquiry which characterised the new philosophers. He felt how greatly the rapid progress of knowledge might contribute to shake the authority of the Church ; and he considered the devotion of these scholars to antiquity, as a general conspiracy against the state and the holy faith. The academy of which Pomponius Lætus was the head, and *Platina* a member, seemed particularly to merit his attention. All the members were arrested, imprisoned, and *tortured*. One of them expired under his sufferings. The pope declared that any person who should even *name* the academy, either seriously or in jest, should be considered a heretic. The academicians were kept in prison a year, and when released their innocence was not acknowledged. Sismondi, *Hist. View*, i. 405

² The rapid succession of their dates shows the intellectual movement of the age : University of Turin, 1405 ; Leipzig, 1409 ; Aix, 1409 ; St. Andrews, 1411 ; Rostock, 1419 ; Louvain, 1426 ; Poitiers, 1431, &c.

admired. To them antiquity was unveiled in all its elevated characters, its severe laws, its energetic virtues, its beautiful and engaging mythology ; its subtle and profound philosophy, its overpowering eloquence, delightful poetry.¹

Unquestionably the growing pursuit of knowledge was unfavourable to the spirit of the religion then established : simply because it generated the Spirit of Inquiry. Now it was impossible that the numberless abuses to which I have directed your attention, in the Church establishment of these times, could stand the test of inquiry. Paul II., therefore, who persecuted knowledge in its votaries, was wise in his generation—was consistent. The popes who favoured its pursuit were springing a mine under Rome : they knew not what they were doing.

That intellectual extravagance in the matter of religious opinion attended the development of mind is also certain, but it did not result from knowledge in itself. It was the result of a comparison. When the mind was trained to see and judge for itself, it made that dreadful discovery which proves that we have been miserably fooled by our self-appointed teachers and preachers : when we see no correspondence of practice with theory ; when we see even in their theory nothing but flat absurdity, because irrational. Knowledge can never be unfavourable to true religion. To the abuses of religion it is always a death-blow. Privileges and prerogatives advance against it, and strive to extirpate it as the germ of “heresy” and “infidelity.” At the period in question what found the student to feed his intellectual cravings, in the libraries of the monks ?

¹ Sismondi, Hist. View, i. 316.

Absolutely nothing besides the works of ancient Greece and ancient Rome. The legends of the middle ages, amusing, or rather edifying, as they are to our modern sentimentalists, had no attractions for men who were completely sick of fooleries. Action, real action, was the stirring watchword of the times ; good or bad, action was the aim of all. Models were preferred from Plutarch ; "legends" were left for the moderns.¹ Existing abuses and inconsistencies disgusted the student with "spirituality ;" the concerns of society and nature became his refuge. It was a reaction produced by the system that was doomed most to suffer from the result.

Another cause of this disgust was religious persecution, directed against those who ventured to attack the abuses of the Church. In the beginning of the century John Huss and Jerome of Prague were burnt at Constance ; Savonarola and his two companions experienced the same fate at Florence, towards the end of the century. The followers of Huss were guilty of great excesses in striving to enforce liberty of conscience at the point of the sword ; but the lot that awaited every "heretic," not a courtier at Rome, was certainly calculated to make men desperate. Ferdinand the Catholic introduced the Inquisition into Spain in 1478, to put down all manner of heresy, and scarcely was it established, when two thousand persons, chiefly Jews, were burnt by order of the grand inquisitor, John de Torquemada.²

¹ To wit, Alban Butler ("*Lives of the Saints*"), and Kenelm Digby ("*Ages of Faith*" and "*Broad Stone of Honour*"), works that may be called the *romance* of the popedom, compiled to veil its *history* at the present day, when it would be glad if men would all forget what it has been, and what it has done in the game of the world.

² Zopf. ii. 623. "The great number of persons condemned to be burnt,

This was very inconsistent conduct for "Christians." They ought to have remembered what their forefathers suffered under the Pagan persecutions. They should have also remembered the *result* of these persecutions—the futility of the attempt to enforce belief. But scarcely had the Pagans ceased to persecute the Christians, than the latter began to persecute each other for "heresy," or differences in matters of religious belief. From age to age similar manifestations called forth similar methods for ensuring orthodoxy ; and although the human mind was destined ever to react against oligarchical authority in the matter of conscience, ever impelled to reject at the hands of man what it can receive from God,—still Rome continued to persecute, continued to defend her system in all its rigid exclusiveness, giving a hideous example to all ages, which we shall see too eagerly followed by those who should have shrunk with horror from the Pagan model.¹

Thus, then, we see something like indifference to the tenets of the Church, combined with a rigid maintenance of "the letter of the law," amidst universal depravity in the pastors of the people ; or, if that term be too severe, a pretty general falling off in the matter of morality amongst the

The political attitude of the popedom.

obliged the prefect of Seville to construct a scaffold of stone in a field near the town, named Tablada. This scaffold was called Quemadero, and still exists. Four statues of plaster were erected on it, and bore the name of the *Four Prophets*. The condemned persons were either fastened to these statues, or enclosed alive in them, and perished by a slow and horrible death."—*Llorente, c. v.*

¹ See Chandler's "History of Persecution, in Four Parts, viz. : I. Amongst Heathens ; II. Under the Christian Emperors ; III. Under the Papacy and Inquisition ; IV. Amongst Protestants." A right good book it is, were it only for its last section, viz., "The Christian religion absolutely condemns persecution for conscience-sake ;" and Chandler proves the proposition most triumphantly. I need not say that his argument is founded on the words of Christ himself.

clergy. This was not all. Of late years, it might be fifty, the popedom had been striving to assume a prominent attitude in the politics of Europe. This was evident to all the princes of the time. It was perhaps fortunate for the popedom, when Leo X. was elected, since he managed to create a sort of diversion to the game of politics, by favouring the intellectual tendencies of the age. Still the memory of the past was not obliterated. The political exertions of Alexander VI., the mad efforts of Julius II., were warning facts to the sovereign states of Europe, which had trembled anon at the sight of the papal sword—France, Venice, and Germany. Whatever movement might arise, likely to curb the pretensions of the Roman court, was sure to meet encouragement from the crafty politicians of the time—and all who hoped to profit by change—always eager to turn the tide of popular opinion,—that mighty Moloch,—against their encroaching, exclusive, and absorbing enemy. For,—

How stood the interesting matter of temporalities—
 “the loaves and the fishes”—in the time of Leo’s
 greatest magnificence? Beautiful to see, and
 highly tempting to taste. Divinely liberal,
 or desperately prodigal in his stewardship,
 no man more than Leo X. ever made so many
 friends with the Mammon of unrighteousness. He
 aggrandised his friends; he lavished wealth upon
 his favourites. It seemed as though the Church
 was honoured—was made beautiful by the tinsel
 of magnificence which the Supreme Pontiff threw
 around her shoulders, and hung upon her members.
 It may have been so; but how defend the human
 heart in such boundless opportunities of enjoyment,—in

The “temporalities.”

the midst of such temptations? Consider the numerous benefices, rich abbeys, and other ecclesiastical preferments bestowed upon the cardinals and the great dignitaries of the church. They frequently amounted to a princely sum, and a prelate was considered comparatively poor, whose annual income did not amount to eight or ten thousand ducats. On the death of Sixtus della Rovere,¹ the nephew of Sixtus IV., in the year 1517, Leo appointed his cousin, Giulio de Medici, vice-chancellor of the holy see; this office alone brought him annually twelve thousand ducats. Nor was it only within the limits of Italy that the cardinals and prelates of the church derived their wealth and dignities. *All Europe was then tributary to the Roman see.* Many of these fortunate ecclesiastics, whilst they passed their days amidst the luxuries and amusements of Rome, supported their rank, and supplied their dissipation *by contributions from the remotest parts of Christendom.* The number of benefices held by an individual was limited only by the will of the pontiff; and by an ubiquity, which, though abstractedly impossible, has been found actually and substantially true, the same person was frequently at the same time an archbishop in Germany, a bishop in France or England, an abbot or a prior in Poland or in Spain, and a cardinal at Rome. The example of the pontiff was the criterion of all, in magnificent display. The chiefs and princes of the church vied with each other in the grandeur of their palaces, the sumptuousness of their

¹ The annual income of this debauched ecclesiastic amounted to more than 40,000 ducats, although he was so ignorant as not to be able to write or read; to which it is added, in allusion to the disease under which he laboured, that "ab umbilico ad plantas pedum totum perditus, ut nec stare nec incedere posset."—*Fabron, Leo X.*, p. 287; *Roccoe, Leo X.*, ii. 440.

apparel, the elegance of their entertainments, the number and respectability of their attendants.¹ Such were the golden days of Leo's pontificate. Splendid indeed in the eyes of the world—admirable beyond expression—enviable without parallel—but the handwriting was on the wall—all might read who had eyes to see, that a judgment was impending on the abuse of the “sacred vessels ;” the utter worldliness of those to whom they were intrusted. And the fatal hour was come—the dread hour of universal retribution, as far as the church was concerned.

The man who could squander away a hundred thousand ducats amongst the populace at his coronation, plainly told the world by that wretched piece of prodigality, that the time would come when his pocket would be empty.

Leo is in want of money.

Leo never deviated from that first example. Following up that beginning, he had lavished profusely enormous sums on public buildings, on his relatives, his courtiers, and the professors of learning, to say nothing of his buffoons and other minions. About the year 1516, Leo was in want of money. There was a deficit in his treasury.² In a very urgent letter to the king of England, he wrote, saying : “ Since money is the sinew of war, to collect some, I have adopted that plan suggested by Maximilian in his letter, a copy of which I send with certain additions, which appear proper to

¹ Roscoe, ii. 81.

² This is universally admitted. Maimbourg, the Jesuit, adds a reflection : “ His treasury was exhausted by the excessive expenses which he incurred by all sorts of display, which much more suited a powerful monarch of the earth than the vicar of Him whose kingdom is not of this world. ”—“ Qui étaient beaucoup plus d'un puissant monarque de la terre que du vicaire de Celui dont le royaume n'est pas de ce monde. ”—*Hist. du Luthéran.* p. 18.

expedite and facilitate the measure ; so that you may give it your approbation, if you can ; or give me your reasons if you dissent, and suggest a better plan. But I think you will easily acquiesce ; for I know your disposition and liberality.”¹ This letter proves the want of money for political purposes, at least ; so far it is conclusive, if it has no reference to the expedient adopted by Leo to collect money. From all that we have read in the foregoing pages, it must be evident that the pope needed money for other purposes as well. According to Catholic writers, the building of St. Peter’s church was the pontiff’s object in the expedient which we are about to consider. If so, it was an ominous fact that the honour intended for the supposed founder of the Roman see should give occasion to its greatest loss and utter predicament. Without entering upon the controversy, we will confine ourselves to the fact, for that alone is, in this history, of importance. The expedient adopted by Leo was to preach “Indulgences” to the Christian world, which would be “gained” by the faithful by their paying a certain sum of money. To the generality of readers an explanation is required.

“Many of you,” says a distinguished dignitary of the Roman church, “many of you have probably heard, that this word signifies a license to sin, given even beforehand for sins to be perpetrated :
Catholic
view of
indulgences.
 at any rate a free pardon for past sins. This is, in fact, the most lenient form in which our doctrine is popularly represented. And yet, mitigated as it is, it is far from correct. For, I fear, many here present will

¹ “Deinde, quoniam nummi quasi nervi bellorum sunt, ad eos cogendos eam propè rationem inire nobis placuit, de quâ,” &c.—*Bembi Epist.* xiv. 31.

be inclined to incredulity, when I tell them that it is no pardon for sin of any sort, past, present, or future.¹ What, then, is an Indulgence ? ”² The compact and nimble answer of the Jesuit, Maimbourg, shall have the preference to the doctor’s long lecture. “The belief of Catholics,” says the Jesuit, “has ever been that the Son of God has given to his church the power of absolving the penitent sinner, not only from the bonds of his *sins*, by the merits of the passion of Jesus Christ, applied to him in the sacrament of penance ;³ but also from the bonds of the *penalty* which he ought to endure in this world or the next, in order to satisfy divine justice for the sins which he has committed after baptism. This is called an *Indulgence*, and it is never given except in making full satisfaction to God, by the infinite price of the sufferings of his Son, which are offered to him for the payment of that debt. Thus, St. Paul,⁴ at the prayer of the Corinthians, set aside, in the case of the incestuous sinner whom he had excommunicated, the remainder of the penalty which he ought to have suffered for so great a crime ;—and thus the bishops of the first ages⁵ gave peace to apostates, and reconciled them to the church, by shortening the duration of the regular penances, through the intercession of the martyrs, and in consideration of their sufferings, united to those of the Saviour of the world, which made

¹ And yet we find that one of the charges brought by the Council of Constance against Pope John XXIII., was “that he had empowered his legates to establish confessors who might give absolution from all sins and penalties (*absolvere possent à pœnâ et culpâ*) on payment of a certain sum of money.”—*Conc. Const.* Sess. 11, art. 22 ; *Maimb.* p. 20. Thus do polemics invariably fling plausible theory in the face of stubborn facts.

² Dr. Wiseman’s Lect. on the Princip. Doct. ii. p. 71.

³ Matt. xvi., xviii.

⁴ 2 Cor. ii.

⁵ Tertall. and Cypr. *passim*.

them precious before God . . . Clement VI., in his Decretal, or Constitution, generally received by the whole church, declares, in explanation of this dogma of faith, that Jesus Christ has left us an infinite treasury of merits and superabundant satisfaction of his passions, of those of the Holy Virgin, who was innocence itself, and of the saints, who have made satisfaction by their voluntary penances, or by their martyrdom, much beyond what they had deserved in penalties for their sins, remitted in the sacrament of penance. Moreover, the pastors of the church, and particularly the popes, who are the sovereign distributors of that treasure, can apply it to the living, by the power of the keys, and to the dead, by the way of intercession, to deliver them from the penalty due to their sins, by draining and offering to God, from that treasury, as much as is sufficient to pay that debt.”¹ Thus, we are assured, Christ and St. Paul were the original inventors of indulgences ; we are now to be told, on the same authority, who were the abusers of that most curious prerogative. “ We must admit,” continues the Jesuit Maimbourg, “ that as the holiest things may be abused, considerably serious abuses have, from all times, crept into the distribution of these graces of the church, or these indulgences. In effect, St. Cyprian often complains of these abuses ;—sometimes that the martyrs gave their letters [of grace] to all sorts of sinners ;—sometimes, that the bishops gave these indulgences too soon, and too easily ;—and sometimes, that martyrs and simple priests had the presumption to give the indulgence, which only bishops had the power to concede.” Tertullian and Novatian, and

¹ Maimb. *Hist. du Lutheran.* p. 15, *et seq.*

others of the early church, had lifted up their voices against this abuse, which seemed to them, very naturally, too closely allied to the use to be effectually forefended, and they attacked the doctrine itself of indulgences, wisely, as we believe, but "brutally," according to the Jesuit.¹ As often as money was required for any object really or apparently connected with the interests of religion, they were offered to the people. As men give with less reluctance when they are left to their own option than when compelled by force, the expedient generally succeeded. But the money was frequently diverted from its original destination, and found its way into the private coffers of the pontiff, or into the treasuries of the secular princes. The office of collecting the contributions was committed to inferior agents, called questors, whose interest it was—as they received a percentage on the amount—to exaggerate the advantages of the indulgence, and to impose on the simplicity and credulity of the people. "It is indeed true," adds Dr. Lingard, "that, to prevent such abuses, severe constitutions, or mandates, had been enacted by several popes ; but these laws were either not enforced, or had fallen into disuse. Those who bewailed the evil saw little hope of a remedy from pontiffs, who seemed to have forgotten their spiritual character in their ardour to free Italy from the dominion of strangers, and to aggrandise, at the same time, their respective families."²

Pope Leo X. was, perhaps, a great prince, without, however, possessing those venerable qualities which we

¹ "Comme ils ont fait brutalement."—*Maimb. Hist. du Lutheran.* p. 18.

² Ling. Hist. of Eng. vi. 89.

should admire in a great, or rather, a good pope.¹ It is difficult to resist temptation when public opinion makes fruition easy. After the example of Pope Julius II., in a similar dilemma—want of money—he resorted to the inexhaustible treasury of which we have been reading, and announced its opening, for a “consideration.” Besides the graces *spiritual*, he offered permission to eat eggs and cheese during Lent, which were then prohibited—a *sensual* “indulgence” rather more tempting than the meat spiritual. Again, owing to certain delicate feelings, it was sometimes, and is still, perhaps, rather inconvenient for penitents to repeat the same sinful tale over and over to the parish priest. Leo craftily appealed to this delicacy : he would give permission to the generous faithful to choose any father-confessor they pleased ; all provided they contributed to “the building of St. Peter’s,” which, by a very slight equivocation, might mean anything or any purpose selected by him who sat on the throne of St. Peter. In effect, it is positively asserted that Leo apportioned to his sister, Maddalena Cybo,² the products of the indulgence-sale in Saxony, and the surrounding country as far as the Baltic. His motive was respectable, though the means were scandalous ; he wished to reward the Cybos for the great succours which they

Leo’s tempting offers, and the grant to his sister.

¹ “Il fit éclater toutes les perfections d’un grand Prince, sans avoir toutes celles d’un grand Pape,” says the Jesuit Maimbourg : but another Jesuit, Father Isla, in his very amusing novel *Fray Gerundio*, makes one of his characters call Leo “that crafty pope,” *aquel conchudo papa* : but he adds in a parenthesis, “God forgive me !” (*Dios me lo perdone*). T. i. lib. i. p. 191. However, see Roscoe’s estimate of Leo’s character, ii. 387, *et seq.*

² Her husband was the natural son of Pope Innocent VIII., who, in compliment or complement of that marriage, had made Leo a cardinal in his *fourteenth* year.—*Sarpi*, lib. i.

had granted him in his early adversity, when compelled to leave Florence and take refuge at Genoa.¹ It is painful to behold gratitude, if that was the pope's only motive, inducing the prostitution of a sacred thing to suit political purposes ; but the practice is still inveterate ; nor can we wonder at Leo's conduct, if the highest dignities of the English church may, by prerogative, be conferred with motives similar, if not identical. The Jesuit Pallavicino treats the grant to Maddalena as a calumny sent forth by Guicciardini and echoed by Sarpi ; but, as though conscious of its truth, he labours at a justification, or at least an extenuation, if the fact be granted.² According to the usual practice, decidedly it was "justifiable," for amongst the prodigal benefactions lavished by Leo on the occasion of Lorenzo de' Medici's marriage with Madelaine de la Tour, he conceded to the king of France, in addition to the tenths of the French *benefices*, all the contributions that should be obtained in France towards the projected crusade against the Turks, the king promising to repay the amount when that expedition should be actually commenced :³ a mere formal condition, which, however, gave the simony something like a right of being made the matter of a document, worthy to be placed in the archives and papal registers. But the grant to Maddalena could scarcely be made on any plausible conditions ;

¹ Dipl. Leon. lib. iii. ; Dipl. Secret. lib. i., ii. ; Sadolet. lib. i. ep. i. ; Guicciard. lib. xiii. ; Maimb. p. 19 ; Sarpi, *ubi supra*.

² "Quod ipsum, si verum foret, fuisset vituperatione dignum ob speciem quandam potius fœditatis, non tamen quod ea incesset enormitas reipset, quam species præ se ferret, ac supponit Suavis."—Lib. i. c. iii. 2.

³ Roscoe, Leo X. ii. 194. Precisely similar is Pallavicino's special pleading on the present occasion : "Ità, si vere affirmetur ea largitio, Leoni contigisset, adnitenti rependere sorori, quidquid familia Cibo cui nupta fuerat, sibi jam impenderat in privatâ atque infortunatâ ipsius conditione."—*Ubi supra*.

consequently, no document existed to attest the fact. On the absence of this proof, Pallavicino, following Contelori, founds his denial; but the Jesuit, more than all other men, must have known right well that there was such a thing as a *vivæ vocis oraculum* among the pope's prerogatives—a "verbal oracle" by which the pope often conferred peculiar grants and privileges. This method is always a secret confined to the giver and receiver. The grant in question was doubtless of the kind; and, as Henke observes, "archives are not likely to give any information respecting the fact," which could not be excused by any one, except a partisan and a Jesuit.¹

Whatever was to be done with the sacred proceeds of the indulgences, certain it is that they were duly published in Germany. Tetzl, a Dominican friar, was appointed to proclaim the boon. Shameful proceedings. His brethren rapidly spread over Saxony. Some, not content with their sermons from the pulpit, offered indulgences in the streets and markets, in taverns and private houses.² Tetzl executed his trust with the most shameless contempt of all decency. There was no sin, however monstrous, which an indulgence could not remit; "and even if any one, which is doubtless impossible, had offered violence to the blessed Virgin Mary, mother of God," cried Tetzl, "let him pay, only let him pay well, and all will be forgiven him."³ Erasmus declared that the monks spoke of

¹ Sarpi, lib. i.; Pallav. lib. i.; Rosc. ii.; Ling. vi. 90. Lingard says that the grant "is shown to be false by Pallavicino:" but the Jesuit only *denies* it, and on the grounds above given. Maddalena certainly appointed the avaricious Arembaldo to collect her monies; and the bishop (for such he was) performed his duty with miserly extortion. Guicc. lib. xiii.

² Ling. vi. 91.

³ See large extracts from his sermons in D'Aubigné's Reform. i. 241.

indulgences in a manner that even idiots could not endure.¹ The indulgences were farmed; they were sold in the gross to the best bidders, and were by them dispersed amongst retail pedlars of pardons, who resorted to public houses, exhibited their wares, picked the pockets of the credulous, and spent the money at the gaming-table, or in more scandalous objects which need not be mentioned. "These abuses are related by so many celebrated authors," says the Jesuit Maimbourg, "who have written on the subject in terms much stronger than mine, in all manner of languages, in Latin, French, Italian and German, that an historian who would undertake to suppress them would find it difficult to succeed in the attempt."²

Tetzel and his indulgences roused Luther and his reformation. Luther was a monk, and would probably have died a monk, but for these same indulgences. Intellectual and religious freedom gleamed from amidst these abuses like the beams of the morning sun athwart the mist of the valley. We should forget the disgraceful abuses, thankful indeed for their issue. They brought to life a Martin Luther. A man, he was, laid up for a great occasion: a hard, indefatigable, *German* student, working and waiting for he knew not what—but working and waiting still—for he felt his destiny. And who was this famous Martin Luther? "Not the son of an *incubus*—a foul demon,"—says the Jesuit Maimbourg, "as some assert, to make him more odious, without the least appearance of truth; and it had never been

¹ Epist. ad Alb. Mag. p. 422. See Ling. ii. 91; Maimb. 21.

² Hist. du Luther. p. 22. See Guicc. lib. xiii.; Thuan. lib. i.; Sarpi, lib. i.; Blunt, Reform. in Engl. 98; Henke, ii.; Chais, Lettres Hist. iii.

doubted until he became a leader of heresy, which he might well become, without its being necessary, for that purpose, to substitute a devil in the place of his father, John Luder, and to dishonour his mother, Margaret Lindermann, by a birth so infamous."¹ And yet such a monstrosity was actually believed possible. Yes, it was believed, and inculcated by the learned casuists, that a devil could be the veritable father of a man. The case is specified in the code of the Jesuit-casuists.² Luther's parents were poor: but he received a good education. At the age of twenty he surpassed all his companions in intellect and learning. He became a monk, scared, it is said, by a thunderbolt, or rendered thoughtful of the future by the sudden death of a friend. He proved to be a valuable acquisition to the monks, and honoured the Order, which was that of St. Augustin. He preached with applause—taught philosophy with approbation—and transacted important business for his Order, at Rome, with so much skill and integrity, that, on his return, they made him a doctor. He was then in his thirtieth year—ready with his wits, subtle, naturally eloquent, elegant and polished in his diction, indefatigably laborious, and such a veteran in study that he passed whole days without sparing a moment to swallow a morsel. What did he study so intensely? The languages, the "Fathers," particularly St. Augustin. Nothing in these, certainly, to lead him whither he was destined to go: but, with such a heart, and will, and mind, as he possessed, they served the effectual purpose of intellectual training capable of being fruitful on any

¹ Hist. du Luther. p. 24.

² See, verb. *Luzuria*, num. 6. The passages are totally unfit for quotation even in Latin.

and every occasion, which was all that was wanted for Martin Luther. Look at the man—strong, robust, adequate to any amount of labour—a bilious and sanguine temperament, whereof all heroes have been compounded—an eye piercing and all on fire—a voice sweet in the calm, but terrible in the storm, of the soul. Would you hear an enemy's description of this mighty man? You will smile, and through the mist of rancorous detestation, catch a glimpse of the vital rays which a jaundiced eye for itself bedaubed. "His look was haughty, intrepid, bold; but he could soften it down when he wished, to counterfeit humility and austerity, which was very seldom. There was, above all, in his soul, a great fund of pride and presumption, which inspired him with contempt for everything that did not coincide with his sentiments, and that spirit of brutal insolence with which he outrageously treated all those who opposed his heresy, without respecting either king, emperor, pope, or all that is most sacred and inviolable on earth. He was incapable of retracting what he once asserted. He was irritable, vindictive, imperious, always wishing to be the master, and eager to distinguish himself by the novelties of his doctrine, which he wished to establish in his school on the ruins of those of the greatest geniuses—to wit, Aristotle, St. Thomas, Scotus, St. Bonaventure, and the other scholastics, who, he said, had corrupted true philosophy, and the solid truths of Christian theology. Such is the veritable character of Martin Luther, in which we may say there was a great mixture of some good qualities and many bad ones, and that he was still more debauched in mind than in morals and his manner of life, which always passed for regular enough whilst he lived in the cloister before his heresy,

which gave the finish to the corruption of his mind and heart."¹ I confess that this Jesuit-portraiture of Luther seems to me far more creditable to the man of history than all the panegyrics of his party. It is an original character : harshly, savagely expressed—"brutally," if I may borrow from the Jesuit,—but the elements thus distorted were splendidly adapted to the sphere from which he was destined to uproot

Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, unutterable, and worse
Than fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceived,
Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimeras dire.²

There is no evidence to show that Luther had any intention, at first, to push matters to extremities ; but his was not a nature to shrink from the flashing blade of defiance at any moment, in any place, at any disadvantage. *Fractus illabatur orbis—impavidum ferient ruinæ*: the pagan impiety of Ajax defying the gods was Luther's heroic unconquerableness—that neither men nor devils could disprove. Having once begun—and gently enough, in all conscience—the patrons of abuses, by their violent and haughty indignation, made it impossible for him to stop short with mild animadversions and thin elucidations. First, he traced the outline, and then he dug into the stubborn metal with his delving burin. His motives for this "interference" have been impugned by his subsequent opponents. Some think it the result of mere monkish envy, because his Order was not employed to preach the lucrative speculation ! It was to be expected that his character would be fiercely assailed for his boldness in meddling

¹ Maimb. p. 26.

² Paradise Lost, b. ii.

with the beard of the mighty lion. He has not lacked defenders ;¹ and, with all his faults, I would rather give Luther my hearty hand, than a smile of approval to his antagonists.

Luther stopped not at indulgences, as all the world knows. Right onwards he went, or was driven, by persecution, to the consummation. In 1520 he published his "Tract against the Popedom," in which he drew the sword : and then his "Babylonish Captivity," in which he flung away the scabbard. Measures were no longer kept by either party. Fierce passion dashed fuel into the general conflagration. In 1520, Leo issued his damnatory bull, excommunicating Luther, delivering him over to the devil, requiring the secular princes to seize him, and condemning his books to be burned. Luther, nothing dismayed, returned measure for measure ; and, raising a huge pile of wood without the walls of Wittemberg, hurled the decretals, canon law, and bull, to the flames together, over against the flashing flame as he stood, the genius of reformation to the world.²

This "heresy" was destined to be a lasting blow to the popedom and all its prerogatives. Princes, nobles, and people favoured the movement. Papal downfall was a providential decree, since every circumstance of the age hailed the event with exultation. The popes had few friends in Germany, nor did they deserve any. Catholic writers admit the fact. "The violent contests between the popes and the emperors in former times," says Dr. Lingard, "had left a

¹ Read MacLaine's note (d) to page 15 of Mosheim, for some enlightenment on the subject. Vol. ii. ed. 1838.

² Blunt, 100 ; Milner, iv. ; Ling. vi. 100 ; D'Aubigné, ii. 150.

germ of discontent, which required but little aid to shoot into open hostility ; and the minds of men had of late years been embittered by frequent but useless complaints of the expedients devised by the papal court to fill its treasury at the expense of the natives." The same writer attests the worldliness, ignorance, and immorality, of the German bishops and clergy in general.¹ What wonder, then, that the people exulted at the hope of that destruction which would avenge their grievances at the hands of extortionate churchmen, or that princes and nobles should favour a movement which was likely to turn to their advantage ? All had specific objects to gain from a common enemy ; all, therefore, heartily joined in the onslaught. Then came the *new men* of the age—the literary men, looking forward to something more solid than mere intellectual triumphs over their monastic rivals. Their writings, winged by the art of printing, "enlightened" the people, and "popular rights" roused an echo in the nation's heart. Besides, consider the novelty of the thing—that stirring principle of human encouragement. Over above these motives towered the spirit of religion, as it were, a muffled angel, trembling for the result, but still hopeful of the time when, dating from Luther's movement, religious freedom, in its widest extent, would bless humanity. Only in the *present* age we begin to enjoy that blessed result ; and even Rome herself, despite her own intolerance, finds that the descendants of Luther are amongst her most generous opponents, willing to grant her the boon which she *never* yielded without compulsion.² Dreadful

¹ Hist. of Eng. vi. 97, which see for a very fair summary of the state of Germany at that period.

² In an encyclic letter of the late Pope, dated August 15, 1832, and addressed

contests, horrible crimes were in store, ere the fair face of Christianity would beam upon mankind ; but Providence slept not : hope dried her tears and smiled through her anguish.

Leo X. died in 1521, by poison, as is very probable.¹ His predecessor was thought to have been taken off in like manner. That age scrupled at few or no atrocities. Money could buy every heart and hand in the Roman court. Who was to succeed the magnificent Leo ? What an element of durability is that *electorate* of the popedom ! A king—an absolute monarch elected by an oligarchy of churchmen. There was hope for each : the elect was the creature of faction. The reign of each pope was the ascendancy of a political system. For a time, opponents were silenced ; but they did not despair, for their turn might be the next. To this principle of the popedom is to be largely attributed its duration. Soon would the kings of Europe be able to influence the electing conclave, and insure a creature of their own in the pontiff, “St. Peter’s successor,” “Father of the Faithful,” and “Vicar of Jesus Christ.”

to all patriarchs, archbishops and bishops, the principle of allowing liberty of conscience to the people is censured as “absurd, erroneous, and delirious, derived from the corrupt source of indifferentism. For the liberty of error,” says the Pope, “is death to the soul.” There’s the rub. Who is to define “error !” It was in compliance with this declaration that La Mennais, in the following September, dissolved the society which he had established for “advocating religious liberty.”—*Affaires de Rome*, par M. F. de la Mennais, with copy of the “letter.”—*Penny Cycl.* “Popery.”

¹ Panvin. Leo X.; Roscoe, *ubi supra*. Sannazarius gives him an epigram :

“Sacra sub extremâ, si forte requiritis, horâ
Cur Leo non potuit sumere : vendiderat.”

“If you ask why Leo did not receive the *sacred things* [sacraments] at his last hour, the answer is, he had *sold them*.”—Epig. l. iii. 8.

Who was to succeed, and govern the church in her dread predicament? Luther's movement was rapidly advancing; the enemies of Leo were rising from their humiliation. The Popedom was at war with the Dukes of Ferrara and Urbino. The latter had been spoiled of his state by Leo, who coveted that of the former as well. The cardinals were divided into factions; the whole State of the Church was exhausted and in disorder, by the anarchy, of eight months' duration. Add to this, the war which had broken out between the Emperor and the King of France; the island of Rhodes besieged by the Turks, the constant terror of Christendom.¹

Predicament
of the
Popedom.

In the conclave for the election of the new pope, the various factions could come to no choice; Cardinal Medici, an aspirant, flattered the rising star of Europe, Charles V., by dexterously proposing to the cardinals, Adrian of Utrecht, *ci-devant* co-regent of Spain, after having been the preceptor of Charles. It was made to appear that Adrian's election was a matter of chance. The excuse was probably the self-defence of the factions, when they experienced the man of their choice. But mere "chance" will account for nothing in these times; all was cool calculation and oily craft. It was by the influence of Charles V. that Adrian of Utrecht (as the honest man called himself) was called to ascend the papal throne. Doubtless some of the cardinals were taken by surprise in the matter, and when the thing was done, they scarcely knew how it came about. It

Adrian VI.

¹ Guic. lib. 15; Sarpi, i. c. 22.

is said that they were half dead with terror at Adrian's acceptance of the dignity ; for they had persuaded themselves that he would not receive the appointment. Pasquin, the Roman *Punch*, derided them, representing the Pope-elect in the character of a schoolmaster, and the cardinals as schoolboys, whom he was chastising.¹ If Adrian was not the "little log," nor exactly the devouring "stork," which Æsop tells us were conceded as kings, on a certain occasion, certainly the cardinals and the pandering menials of Leo became direful "Frogs" with a fearful clamour, when Adrian of Utrecht dropped upon them, scythe in hand instead of a pruning-knife, for *reform*—that terrible sound to the guilty men of Rome. In truth, a plough-share was needed. Adrian was a man of thoroughly unblemished reputation, upright, pious, active, serious. No more than a faint smile was ever seen upon his lips—but full of benevolence and pure intentions—a genuine clergyman.²

" I venerate the man whose heart is warm,
Whose hands are pure, whose doctrine and whose life
Coincident, exhibit lucid proof
That he is honest in the sacred cause."³

It is gratifying, intensely so, at last to find a good pope, after struggling through the mire of his predecessors. Interesting it will be to see the proofs of every preceding page, in the results of Adrian's efforts to do good in evil times.

Adrian was born at Utrecht in 1459. His father was one of the people—a poor man. Whether he was a weaver, or a brewer of small beer, as was said,

Ranke, p. 26.

² Ibid. p. 27.

³ Cowper, *The Task*, B. II.

matters not at all—he was an honest man.¹ Educated by charity, Adrian lived in probity and application; and was advanced by his talents to the highest functions that mind and heart ^{His qualifications.} can deserve to fill and adorn. In philosophy, mathematics, and theology, he ranked among the foremost of the age. The Emperor Maximilian made him the unavailing tutor to his grandson, Charles, afterwards the famous Charles V. Ferdinand of Spain gave him the bishopric of Tortosa. After Ferdinand's death, he became co-regent with Cardinal Ximenes, and was made governor of Spain by Charles V.²

Adrian VI. (for he retained his original name) wept when informed of his elevation. No ^{Curious results.} tears of joy were those. Too well he knew that evil times were around and before him. Not for joy he wept, as many would—

“No : he was serious in a serious cause,
And understood too well the weighty terms
That he had ta'en in charge. *He* would not stoop
To conquer those by jocular exploits,
Whom truth and soberness assail'd in vain.”³

Adrian was to succeed *Leo the Tenth*! Let the *Cavaliere Abate Tiraboschi, ci-devant Jesuit*, describe Adrian's advent to the *Corte di Roma*, the *Court of Rome* :—“This so brilliant a light which was spread over polite literature in the happy times of *Leo X.* was obscured by a passing but murky cloud, in the short

¹ “Vix ex ingenua plebe . . et ut alii audiunt, anseorum textor, quamquam plerisque placeat coctoris cerevisie ministrum eum fuisse—probus tamen et frugi.”—*Pano.*

² Panvin. Hadrian. VI.; Dupin, Cent. xvi.

³ Cowper, *The Task*, B. II.

pontificate of Adrian VI. Could a Flemish pope,—*un pontefice Fiamingo*,—one who had always lived amidst scholastic subtleties, could such a one enjoy the Epigrams of *Bembo*, or the elegant letters of *Sadolet*?" This significant introduction prepares us for a scene. It follows:—"Scarcely was he in Rome, when the whole tribe of poets seemed struck by a thunderbolt—scattered in every direction. *Sadolet* went first to his country-house, and then to his bishopric of *Carpentras*." Why was he not there before? . . . Why did he decamp? We have the reason: "*Monsignor Sadolet*," wrote *Girolamo Negri* to *Micheli*, "is well in the vineyard, sequestered from the vulgar herd, and cares not for favours; particularly as the pope the other day happening to cast his eyes over some elegant Latin letters, only observed: '*Sunt literæ unius poetæ*'—'these are some poet's letters'—as though he snubbed eloquence. And again, when he was shown the *Laocoon* as something excellent and wonderful, he said: '*Sunt idola antiquorum*'—'these are the idols of the ancients.' So that I very much doubt that he will not some day do what they say *Saint Gregory* did—and that out of all these statues, the living memorials of *Rome's* grandeur and glory, he'll make lime for building *St. Peter's*!"¹

¹ " Questa si chiara luce, che sull' amena letteratura si sparse ne' lieti tempi di *Leon X.* fu oscurata da una passeggera ma folta nube nel Ponteficato di *Adriano VI.* Uno Pontefice *Fiammingo*, e vissuto sempre fra le scolastiche sottigliezze, poteva egli godere o degli Epigrammi del *Bembo*, o dell' eleganti lettere del *Sadoletto*. Apena egli fu in *Roma*, che tutta la poetica turba sembra percosso dal folgore, e quà e là disperse; e il *Sadoletto* medesimo ritiratosi alla campagna, passò poscia al su Vescovado di *Carpentras*: *Monsignor Sadoletto*, scriveva *Girolamo Negri* a *Marcantonio Micheli* a '17 di *Marzo* del 1523 (1); sta bene alla vigna sequestrato dal volgo, e non si cura di favori; massimamente che il Pontefice l'altro dì leggendo certe lettere latine ed eleganti, ebbe a dire: *Sunt litteræ unius Poetæ*, quasi beffeggiando la eloquenza. Ed essendogli ancora mostrato

We must now inquire who these unfortunate poets were, that crowd of poets,—*poetica turba*,—with their pleasant literature,—*amena letteratura*,
 whom the advent of honest Adrian unsettled The Poets.
 and put to flight in a manner, and with results, so feelingly lamented by the Cavalier-jesuit Tirabosch. These gentle shepherds, or rather these flaunting Rochesters, must interest us since they interest a Jesuit. Andrès, a sterner Jesuit, has expressed, as we have heard (p. 28), an opinion, founded on facts, not at all favourable to the intrinsic worth of the *Leonine* poets most in favour, with whom not to sympathise, only befits “a Flemish pope nursed in scholastic subtleties,” according to the cavalier Tirabosch.

Their chief was *Pietro Bembo*, a first-rate scholar and admirable correspondent, as appears by his numerous letters on all manner of subjects and to all manner of persons. As secretary to Leo X., he is unsurpassed in his official despatches, composed *Leonis Decimi nomine*, in the name of the pope ; as an intellectual voluptuary in retirement, he was equalled by many in his *Ansolani* or *Conversations on Love*, composed in the name of Cupid, or Venus, or any other goddess spiritual or human, which last Pietro Bembo lacked not for adoration. For some reason dissatisfied with his patron, Bembo retired from Leo’s Roman court and took up his residence at Padua, accompanied by his mistress *La Morosina*, who remained with him to the time of her death, in 1535. Being then in his sixty-fifth year,

in Belvidere il Laocoonte per una cosa eccellente e mirabile, disse: Sunt Idola Antiquorum. Di modo che dubito molto un di non faccia quel che si dice aver fatto già S. Gregorio, e che di tutte queste statue, viva memoria della grandezza e gloria Romana, non faccia calce per la fabrica di S. Pietro.”—Lettere di Principe, t. i.; Tirabosch. t. vii. P. i. 20, et seq.

it is possible that "for the residue of his life nothing of conduct or composition unfitting the sacred profession could be imputed to Bembo," as we are assured ;¹ but eleven of his sonnets remain, attesting and bewailing La Morosina, whom it is said he regarded as his legitimate wife. She has the merit of having inspired Bembo with more pathos by her death than by the influence of her charms during life ; these sonnets surpass all his other writings. La Morosina gave him a daughter and two sons, one of whom entered the church, and distinguished himself by his literary acquirements, for Bembo paid particular care to the education of his children. Devoted to his studies and pleasures, and enjoying, in the midst of his literary friends, the revenues derived from his church preferments, he seemed determined to avoid the temptations of the Roman court ; but in 1539, Pope Paul III. (the friend of Alexander VI., and patron of the Jesuits), made him a cardinal, and invited him to Rome, to be highly favoured by the pontiff (who "passed over" his former life), to be enriched with many wealthy benefices (two bishoprics among the rest), to meet once more many of his old associates, and finally, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, quietly to end his days in 1547.²

Bembo was perhaps the best moral specimen that the "poetic crowd" could boast. "All the poets, with scarcely an exception, all the literary men of that age resident in Rome, and even honoured with prelacies, with dignities, and offices in the church, were infected with the same vice, or, as may be said, *besmeared with the*

¹ Dublin Review, xxxix. p. 40.

² Rosc. ii. 144, 145 ; Bembo. Epist. Fam. L. Ep. vi. 66, 67 ; Lett. Vulg. ii. ; lib. ii. Ep. 14 ; Feller, Biog. Univ. ; Bayle, *Bembo* ; Sismond. i. 426, *et seq.*

same pitch,—tinti della pece medesima."¹ Dismissing his dissolute life, even dismissing that remarkable incredulity so inconsistent with his profession, and of which, like many of the day, he made no secret,² it will be only necessary to observe that the licentious poems of his youth were not likely to be "passed over" by *Adrian*, as they were by *Leo*, and subsequently by *Paul III.* of Jesuit memory.³

One more specimen of the poetic crowd dispersed

¹ "Tutti quasi i poeti, tutti i letterati di quella età, comechè residenti in Roma, et insigniti ancora di prelature, di dignità, e di ufficej nella chiesa, erano infetti dello stesso vizio, o come altri direbbe, tinti della pece medesima."—*Bossi, Ital.* v. vii. 268.

² Melchior Adam tells us (in *Vit. Theol.* p. 360) that Melancthon sent Sabinus to Bembo with a letter of introduction. During dinner, Bembo asked Sabinus what salary Melancthon had! what number of hearers! and what was his opinion concerning a *future state and the resurrection*? To the first, the reply was 300 florins a-year. The cardinal cried out—"Ungrateful Germany, to purchase at so low a price so many toils of so great a man!" The answer to the second question was, that Melancthon had usually 1500 hearers. "I cannot believe it," replied the cardinal. "I do not know of an university in Europe, except that at Paris, where one professor has so many scholars." Still Melancthon had frequently 2500 hearers. To the third question, Sabinus replied that Melancthon's works were a full proof of his belief in those two articles. "I should have a better opinion of him," replied the cardinal, "if he did not believe them at all"—*habere virum prudentem, si hoc non crederet.* Apud Bayle, *Melancthon* [P.]. See also Bembo [F.] for other assertions of the like nature. On being informed that Sadolet was about to write an explanation of the Epistle to the Romans, Bembo said to him, "Leave off these fooleries; they ill become a man of gravity—*Omitte has nugæ; non enim decent gravem virum tales ineptiæ.*"—*Greg. Michel. Not. in Curios. Gaff.* p. 111.

³ Scaliger reproaches him sharply for his licentious poems, particularly the Elegy beginning—

"Ante alias omnes, meus hic quos educat hortus,
Una puellares allicit herba manus."

I dare not mention the *subject* of the Elegy. In Scaliger's opinion—and all must agree with him—the poem "may be justly called a most obscene piece of wit, or a most witty piece of obscenity." "There are many pieces of his (Bembo) extant, written in a very licentious way, agreeably to the corrupt taste of the times, and to the humours of the master he served." This is De Thou's verdict. See Bayle, *Bembo* (E.); Scalig. *Confut. Tab. Burdonum*, p. 323.

by Adrian may be mentioned : Pietro Aretino, whose name has acquired an infamous celebrity. Extreme licentiousness is the characteristic of this poet, if he be worthy of the name. He sold his pen to reigning sovereigns, and gave them for their gold the most base and degrading flatteries. And yet, it is well known he wrote several *devotional* pieces ; in the list of his works, among many abominations, appear the *Life of Saint Catherine of Sienna*, and a *Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms*, which the author, an enemy to every religious faith and to all morals, wrote only because they brought him a larger sum of money. In spite of this profligacy of mind and heart, Aretino received from his contemporaries the epithet of *Il Divino*, the Divine ! He had the effrontery to affix the title to his name. His life was sullied by every species of vice. Utterly without a sense of honour, personal chastisement was the only expedient capable of repressing his satirical venom ; and that he frequently underwent at the hands of his enemies. On the other hand, in his dramatic pieces he paints undisguisedly the vices of the great as well as those of the people, and preserves, with singular truth and vivacity of colouring, the picture of the general dissoluteness of manners, and the loose principles of the age. "From no other source," says Sismondi, whose account of the man I have condensed, "from no other source can we obtain a more correct insight into that abandonment of all morals, honour and virtue, which marked the sixteenth century." This crowd-poet, Aretino, was the acknowledged friend of Leo X., and subsequently of Clement VII., and still later was recommended to Paul III. by his son, the Duke of Parma, as *deserving a cardinal's hat*, and had nearly attained

that distinction, on the death of Paul, from his successor Julius III.¹ But it is evident that he could find no favour with *Adrian VI.*

The election of a man actually absent, and who was unknown to the cardinals and the Roman court, where he had never been,—a man who was thought hostile to the Roman maxims and the licentious lives of the cardinals,—so fixed attention, that Luther's movement was almost forgotten. He was even thought favourable to the Reformation;² but nothing was further from his intention than giving encouragement to the movement in its widest acceptance. A conscientious believer in the doctrines of the Roman church, his ardent desire was to uphold it in its greatest integrity, and utterly to eradicate the thousand abuses by which it was befouled. He was consistently hostile to Luther's movement. His purity of intention and integrity of life gave him the title to this praise, whilst so many others concerned in the struggle had nothing but their corrupt desires and open vices to prompt resistance to a movement which threatened them with penury and ruin. Adrian longed

Adrian's
efforts at
reform.

¹ Sismondi, i. p. 433; Feller, *Biog. Univ.* See also Tiraboschi, t. vii, p. 11, l. iii. c. 86, for a slashing account of Aretino; the Jesuit seeming to forget that this "poet" was a friend of Leo X. He says that Clement VII. expelled him from Rome for some obscene sonnets. He called himself the *Scourge of Princes*, and asserts that his income, arising from presents that they made him, and solid cash, amounted to 25,000 crowns in eighteen years. Even Charles V., and Francis I., purchased his *silence*! Imagine the force of *influence* in those days. Remember the fact: it will explain how eagerly the services of the *Jesuits* were desired. Popes and sovereigns knew their danger from literary and other enemies, if they made such, or failed to make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness. Aretino would not have been paid to keep silence on the characters and deeds of potentates, if his writings did not influence the people—then the "tools" of the great, to fight their battles and fill their pockets.

² Sarpi, lib. i.

to correct the abuses of the Church. In his instructions for the Nuncio whom he sent to the Diet, he exclaims,—“ We know that for a long time many abominable things have found a place near the Holy Chair, abuses in spiritual things, exorbitant straining of prerogatives—everything turned to evil. The disease has spread from the head to the limbs—from the pope to the prelates : we are all gone astray ; there is none that has done rightly—no, not one.”¹ He charged his Nuncio to state, that in order to satisfy his inclination as well as the duties of his office, he was resolved to direct his whole mind, and to employ all means to reform, in the first place, *the court of Rome*, whence perhaps all the evil sprang ; and that he would apply to this matter the more readily, because he saw that all the world desired it with ardour. The whole of this document attests at least the sincerity of Adrian’s heart, and must deserve our admiration. But the Jesuit Pallavicino brings to bear upon it the dexterous *political* craft of his society, and says that it leaves us to desiderate in Adrian more prudence and circumspection ; and he plainly expresses his opinion that government is better administered by a man of mediocre virtue, accompanied by great sense, than by great sanctity furnished with little sense.² The Jesuit, in effect condemns almost every part of this instruction ; but Panvinus, who judged more soundly than the cardinal Jesuit, and who was nearer the scene of affairs, does not hesitate to say, that by his integrity and kindness,

¹ *Instructio pro te Franc. Chierieg.*, apud Ranke ; Sarpi, lib. i.

² “Una tale Instruzione ha fatto desiderare in lui maggior prudenza et circonspezione . . Il governo . . meglio si amministra da una bontà mediocre accompagnata da senno grande, che da una santità fornita di picciol senno.”—Lib. ii. c. 7.

Adrian rendered himself so agreeable to the Germans, that had he not been surprised by death, there is reason to believe he would have remedied the evils of the Church.¹ This was a futile hope, however : the evils were too deep—the circumstances were too much involved to give the least chance of success, either to the greatest integrity or the greatest skill. Too many stirring and important interests of humanity depended upon that movement which was originated by the abuses of religion ; and it must be added, too many human motives were rushing to the contest, all destined to make it perpetual. Rome preferred her abuses : she hugged them closely as a miser his gold. At every step Adrian saw himself surrounded by a thousand difficulties. In a strange element at Rome, he could only suffer : action was out of his power. On the other hand, his inflexible integrity scorned to make friends out of the mammon of unrighteousness ; and he stood alone, whilst his unpopularity increased daily round about the papal throne, at length, and too late, filled by an honest man. It passed from mouth to mouth that he had about 5000 vacant benefices to bestow ; the hopes of twice as many hungry aspirants were on the alert ; but never did pope show himself more chary and reserved in that important matter. Adrian would know *who* it was for whom he provided a salary : he would investigate the character of the man whom he appointed to preach morality. He set to the work with unscrupulous conscientiousness, and consequently disappointed innumerable expectations. The first decree of his pontificate suppressed the reverendary rights formerly annexed to church dignities ;

¹ Hadrianus VI.

he even recalled those already conceded.¹ All the venal offices invented, established, and sold by Leo, he revoked without mercy, to the utter discomfiture of the beasts and birds of prey who fattened on the spoil. It was a severe measure, doubtless; but Adrian shrunk with horror from the thought of perpetuating those infamous abuses. General dissatisfaction was the result; for, observe, many had embarked all their fortunes in a speculation which filled for a time the hungry coffers of the prodigal Leo. They had risked all with the hope of large profit. Compelled by his exhausted treasury, to enforce the strictest economy, Adrian was accused of avarice. He bore the calumny as it deserved, and frequently observed that "it mattered much for his success what times a man of the greatest virtue fell on—*multum referre ad feliciorum fortunam in quæ tempora alicujus vel præclara virtus incidisset.*" How striking was the comparison when the people glanced back to the times of Leo. Luxury, peace, and festivities, rejoiced the sensual applauders of a corrupt administration—without a thought of the future—without a suspicion that the very state of affairs, which was their glory and their exultation, was rapidly preparing the most certain and inevitable reaction or retribution. It came during

¹ Some idea of papal prerogatives and abuses is conveyed by the following extract from Condillac: "They (the popes) kept up all the abuses which enriched the Apostolic Chamber; that is, the appeal on all affairs to the Holy See, the collation of all incumbents, reserves, expectative graces, annates, indulgences, dispensations, the tithes, and the spoils of dying incumbents. For the popes had established themselves the heirs of all incumbents; and not only did they seize the remaining proceeds of the benefice, but even the ornaments of the churches, or even the goods which an incumbent held from his family. If the family made any resistance, they were excommunicated. Giannoni observes, that these abuses reigned all over Italy, and even greater at Naples."—*Hist. Moderne, Œuvres*, t. xxiii. 242.

the interregnum—with war, famine, and pestilence. The innocent pope bore the blame: they hated him for the penalties of their own recklessness, and his predecessor's voluptuous prodigality.¹

It was the fatality of the Church to aggravate her calamities by the perversity with which she resisted the conscientious efforts at reform at the hands of the good Adrian. But he felt that inward impulse whose motives, if they come not from heaven, cannot be traced to evil. Adrian

Adrian is
thwarted:
his death.

applied his religious mind to the purification of the Church, corrupted by foul abuses,—*ſœdis abusibus corruptam*. To aid in his efforts, he invited to Rome and the Vatican, Marcellus Cajetan, and Peter Caraffa, two eminent exceptions to the general rule of clerical profligacy—men of the strictest integrity, and not without knowledge—the stern and flinty products of a corrupt age, when the indignant hearts of “ten just men” burn with a holy fire to rescue a doomed world from imminent destruction. Sodom and Gomorrha lacked them—and sank for ever. Adrian, with Caraffa and Cajetan, declared war against all immorality. We are presented with the catalogue of the various delinquents: —they were the Marrani or hypocritical Jews, who might have been let alone; the blasphemers; simoniacs; usurers; and sodomites.² But he was doomed to die without reaping the smallest fruit from his efforts and good intentions. Innumerable enemies were the only result. He was reproached with hardness of heart sordid economy, and grovelling sentiments; which

¹ Ranke, *ubi supra*; Panvin. *ut antea*.

² Maranos, blasphemos, simoniacos, feneratoros, et adversæ veneri deditos.—*Panvinus, ubi supra*.

charges only had in view Adrian's integrity, frugality, and purity.¹ His death was eagerly desired. On one occasion the upper part of the door leading to the papal chapel, fell in, as the pope was about to enter. Several soldiers were killed : the pope escaped. The prelates witnessed his good fortune with undisguised regret : nor was an unfeeling prelate in the least blamed for his impious wish, that death had rid them of the hated pope !² One would almost believe that the catastrophe was no accident. Results strengthen the surmise. Colonna gave a splendid feast to the cardinals, and other eminent persons : the pope retired to a neighbouring church to avoid the heat, which was oppressive. "There he took," it is said, "a slight disease, which being neglected by the physicians, became mortal, increasing fever being the result."³ He died soon after. An inscription was seen on the door of his physician—"To the Liberator of his Country." The usual phrase, "not without suspicion of poison," is omitted by the historian : but assuredly there never was reason better supported by circumstances for believing that Adrian was helped out of a world unworthy of his virtues. He had reigned only twenty months. The following epitaph on his tomb chronicles his good intentions, and their result—"Here lies Pope Adrian VI., who deemed nothing in his life more unfortunate than the possession of supreme power."⁴

¹ Ber. Bercast., Hist. Eccles. ² Conclavi de' Pontefici Romani, p. 151.

³ "Ibi levem ab initio, mox à medicis neglectum, letalem contraxit morbum, ita ut sensim invalesceret febris."—*Panvinus*. Again, still more strikingly, he says : "*Levi, sed tabifica febre quàm decubisset, adulatione medicorum, eò perductus est, ut penè priùs quàm vense tangerentur, improvisâ morte perierit.*"—*Clem. VII.*

⁴ "Hadrianus Papa VI. hic situs est, qui nihil sibi infelicius in vitâ duxit quàm quòd imperaret."—*Panv.*

It is pleasant to dwell on the character of this good pope. There is a letter of his extant in which he says, that he would rather serve God in his priory in Louvain than be pope. He continued in the Vatican the life he had led as a professor.

His pleasing
character.

It was characteristic of him, observes Ranke, that he even brought with him the old woman, his attendant, who continued to provide for his domestic wants as before. He made no alteration either in his personal habits : he rose with the dawn, read his mass, and then proceeded in the usual order to his business and his studies, which he interrupted only with the most frugal dinner. It cannot be said of him that he was a stranger to the general culture and acquirements of the age : he loved Flemish art, and prized that learning which was adorned with a tinge of elegance. Erasmus testifies that he was especially protected by him from the attacks of the bigots of the Schools ; and that although he favoured scholastic pursuits, he was, nevertheless, well enough disposed towards polite learning. Even the cavalier Tirabosch, despite his evident prepossession against the sternness of Adrian, flings him the following admission : —“ Moreover,” says he, “ Leo’s prodigality had so exhausted the treasury, that Adrian not only had nothing to give to the learned, but was even in want of money for the most pressing necessities.”¹ But he disapproved of the almost heathenish tendency to which they gave themselves up in Rome, says Ranke, and he would not so much as hear of the Sect of the Poets—the poetic crowd whom he routed. His conduct was a constant antithesis to that of his predecessor, the luxurious Leo.

¹ Storia, tom. vii. part i. p. 22.

The Jesuit Feller observes, that Adrian was as simple in his manners, and as economical, as Leo was prodigal and extravagant. When the cardinals urged him to increase the number of his domestics, he replied, that he desired before all things, to pay the debts of the Church. Leo's grooms asked him for employment. "How many grooms had the late pope?" asked Adrian. "A hundred," was the reply—whereupon the pope made the sign of the cross, and said, "Four will be enough for me—but I'll keep twelve, so as to have a few more than the cardinals."¹ Nepotism, or the advancement of his relatives, was at a discount during his pontificate. One of his relatives came to Rome from his college in Tuscany: Adrian sent him back forthwith, telling him to take from his own conduct an example of modesty and self-denial. Others, in like manner, who had travelled on foot to Rome from Germany, with the hope of promotion, he very severely rebuked, and dismissed back to their country with the gift of woollen garments, and a frugal viaticum, but on foot, as they came a fortune-hunting. Evident proofs are these of his disapprobation of the contrary practice which was followed by his predecessors—so serious and pernicious to the state: but to his friends and domestics, whom he selected with the greatest care, he very liberally conceded what he had to give, and desired to enrich the good and studious with a moderate and lasting liberality.² He invariably said, that he would give men to benefices; not benefices to men. Adrian's example is a model. It may be useful to all who hold power in any church, and in any country. One curious remark will conclude this pleasant subject. In a work

¹ Feller.² Panvinus.

which he published when professor at Louvain, occurs the proposition, "that the pope may err even in matters of *faith*." ¹ There is little doubt that in spite of the severity with which he would resist Luther's movement, Adrian had right views of Christianity, and would have purged the Church of many abuses the most important.

A sharp contest in the conclave occupied the factions of the Roman Court ere a successor could be given to Adrian VI. and "St. Peter." The leading candidates were Giulio de' Medici, and Cardinal Colonna. A simoniacal compromise between them settled the matter, and the former was elected, and assumed the name of Clement VII.² A natural relative of Leo X., who legitimatised him by a public decree, his talents, and aptitude for business, procured him a large share in Leo's administration. His name was a talisman to the frivolous, who vainly imagined a return to the "glorious" days of the Medicean pope: his prudence and abilities gave hope to the wise, who trembled at the prospects of the Church and Popedom. It seemed to be the pope's resolve to avoid the extremes of the last pontificates—Leo's instability, profuseness, and objectionable habits—and Adrian's discordance with the temperament of his Court. Every department was controlled by sound discretion; at least in himself nothing was apparent but blameless rectitude

¹ Comment on the IVth Book of the Sentences—quoted by Feller, with a bungling explanation and distinction; he actually insinuates that Adrian *must* have changed his opinion on the matter when he became pope, by stating that the book containing the proposition was republished subsequently, during his pontificate, without the pope's permission. *Ubi supra*.

² Mendez. Lett., Guicciard. lib. 15. Pallavicino quotes anonymous memoirs in proof that the pope's *modesty* was the motive of his election. "Charity," observes Courayer, "may induce us to believe it: pity that we have no other proofs." Modesty in the Conclave would certainly then seem a phenomenon.

and moderation. But he was a politician of the age, driving, as he thought, most cleverly to his objects, which, however, he was not destined to attain. Clement VII. was a man of extensive information, great acuteness and sagacity, and a skilful debater :¹ but action would be the watchword of his reign—and there his schemes recoiled upon himself, the Church, and the Popedom, with terrible disaster.

The increasing success of Luther's movement surpassed the expectations of the most sanguine. It was a torrent to which a thousand rills
The anx-
ieties of the
Church. from every hill-top and mountain-side, gave length and breadth, as it swept along—not without destruction. We shall soon compute its results. Turn we to the anxieties of the Church in her predicament. The remedies applied to her disease were like plasters and lotions, and unguents, to a critical skin-disorder. Her malady was internal ; her doctors would treat only the outward eruption, Adrian would have gone to the inmost source of the disease ; it would not be listened to ; wealth, and power, and domination were too sweet to be resigned, even for the sake of Mother Church, which all theoretically defended, though practically few would adorn with her best ornament—the virtues of her children. The method devised to stem the Reformation was the creation of swarms of monks—a feature as remarkable as any of the sixteenth century. The object in view was ostensibly the reformation of manners, but effectually the aim was by influence to counteract the furious tide of papal unpopularity. Luther had shorn papal power of its terrible beard, and all the world was growing bold enough to stroke its chin.

¹ Ranke, p. 28.

Those who govern men, however profligate themselves—and some of the popes were bad enough—love to see virtue cherished and practised by their subjects, simply because it is easier to govern when men obey from principle, than when compelled by force of arms or the fear of penalties. Hitherto ignorance or indifference had been the basis of a wide-spread papal domination—very pleasant to behold by those who enjoyed its solid results. Luther's sledge hammer had done, and was doing, fearful work on the battlements of tithes, privileges, and prerogatives. Then came the idea of Mother Church succumbing to the "heretic!" It was frightful. Thousands rushed to the rescue—as well as they could. Although the sword was at work—and would soon be more desperately engaged—still "argument" was in requisition. Who were to supply it—by their *lives* as well as their wits, which are not always as man and wife united? Swarms of teachers and leaders there were: Franciscans, Benedictines, and Dominicans—time-honoured monks, all of them: but their day was passed. The world had got *used* to them—and *they* to the world, which was worse still. "Scandals grave and manifold, and known to the world, were found among them," says the Jesuit Bellarmine, in his *Groan of the Dove*.¹ Now, in the morn of the Reformation, if it was desirable that the "heretics" should not be able to point the finger at such and such a monk, priest, or friar, leading a sorry life; it was also much to be wished that the same jealous opponents should not, with justice, reproach the orthodox on the score of ignorance at a time when the

¹ *De Gemitu Columbee*. See also the Jesuit Keller's *Cavea Turturis*, the *Cage of the Turtle*. There never was a Jesuit's book without a catching title. 'Tis half the battle, say the publishers.

epithet of "learned" was something like "sainted" in appearance, and much more in reality. Concerning "Grammar," "Art," "Physics," and "Dialectics," there was, and had been, wrangling enough; and Aristotle's shade was in higher estimation with the infants of the Church, than his mind had ever been with his royal pupil;—but the Thomists, Scotists, Realists, and Nominalists (the professional theorists of these days), taught without informing, and crammed the brain of their pupils without satisfying its wants.

The spirit of the times required a new order of things. The Reformation called forth virtue and talent from the drowsy Church. The human mind, somehow and somewhere, if not everywhere, had broken from her fastness, and like a giant was prepared to run her course. It was necessary that the "orthodox" should "keep pace" with the runaway. Thus the religious and intellectual wants of the Church arrested attention—two exigencies of immense importance in the state of affairs. The first was the first attempted. The *Franciscans* were among the first candidates in the difficult struggle of self-reformation—difficult indeed, since one may reform a thousand without being much the better for his success.¹ One of these monks felt himself called to restore the degenerate Order of St. Francis to its primitive austerity. Bassi, that was his name, and his reformed *capuchins*, would fall back on the terrible old custom of midnight worship,

Reforms and
new orders of
monks.

¹ Cardinal de Retz, for instance, who describes his moral conduct so philosophically, concluding with the resolve "to be as virtuous for the salvation of others, as he might be wicked for himself."—*Memoires*. He converted a Protestant, and preached with vast applause, though at the time one of the most profligate dignitaries of the church. Balzac actually called him a *Saint Chrysostom*!

the scourge, silence, and all the bristling horrors of hair-shirt and skin-and-bone fasting.¹ All this was very good in its way : for *consistency* is no insignificant virtue in all professions : but a moment's consideration will suggest that neither midnight worship, self-scourging, hair-shirt, nor fasting, was exactly the thing to insure or restore papal ascendancy. Moses on the mountain praying, was necessary : but Joshua in the sinewy tug below, was no less requisite—some will say more so—in the plain, doing desperate battle with Amalek. In fact, the great want was an efficient secular clergy. Other candidates appeared. These were Gaetano da Thiene and Caraffa, who are remembered with Adrian VI. They were the founders of a new order, called the *Theatines*. The former was afterwards made a *saint*—as every founder of a religious order is sure to be, and has a right to be—and the latter became a pope, by name Paul IV.—a man of nine-and-seventy years, with deep sunken eyes, very tall and thin—all sinew and orthodoxy, except what was bone and austerity. The object proposed by the Theatines was chiefly to inspire the priesthood with the spirit of their profession, to battle with heresy springing up on all sides, and apply themselves to the corporal works of mercy. One regulation of their Institute was, neither to beg alms nor demand payment for their services. How then were they to be fed and housed and clothed ? They passed a resolution that the new members should be of noble descent, and consequently rich. But the experience of

¹ Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Mon.* vii. ; Moasheim ii. 88. These Capuchins, so called from their *capuche* or cowl—were sadly persecuted by their sinful brethren, and compelled to fly from place to place, until the pope took them under his wings.

the Church, doubtless suggested to them that "virtue" was never suffered to be entirely its own and only reward : the charities of the pious always rained upon monks until they were "found out." It is well to know some of their peculiarities. The Theatines would have no particular colour and form of garb—leaving the fashion to be regulated by the local custom of the clergy ; and the forms of service should correspond with national usage. Thus were they freed from the external obstacles which blocked the way of the monks, at a time when the cowl and girdle inspired anything but veneration.¹ These were *innovations*—a step in advance—progress, as the French would call it. The order was something new, and found the usual favour of novelty when it appeals to a prominent sentiment, failing, or passion of the times. The Theatines became in vogue. By their street-preaching and other public functions they won applause—not a little enhanced in the estimation of human nature by the fact that these holy and zealous men were mostly of noble birth, and had resigned the pleasures of the world for the good of religion, the service of the poor, the sick, the condemned of men in prisons, or on the scaffold of death. They made their vows in St. Peter's or the Vatican on the 14th of September, 1524. Clement VII. had given them a Bull of ratification. But troublous times were coming on : the pope was a politician as well as a patron of religious reformation.

There was a "Young Italy" in these times as at the present day ; and if she had no Austrians encumbering her mighty patriotism, she had Spaniards as detestable :

¹ Ranke, p. 46 ; Feller, *Biog. Univ.* ; Bromato, *Vita di Paolo IV.*

and if she had no *Pio Nono* of the print-shops, she had a Clement VII. as belligerent as the same paper-hero. And they *talked* as loudly then as in these degenerate days. "Regeneration" was, as now, the pouting war-cry—just as if it were as easy to "regenerate" a nation as it is to manufacture Bulls and Archbishops. Nevertheless, in the summer of 1526, the Young Italy of these days went to work with their own strength. The Milanese are already in the field against the Imperialists—the warriors of Charles V. A Venetian and a papal army advance to their support. Swiss aid is promised, and the alliance of France and England has been secured. "This time," said Giberto, the most confidential minister of Clement VII., "the matter concerns not a petty revenge, a point of honour, or a single town. This war decides the liberation or the perpetual thralldom of Italy." There was no doubt of the successful issue. "Posterity will envy us that their lot had not been cast on our days, that they might have witnessed so high a fortune, and have shared it. He scorns the hope of foreign aid." "*Ours* alone will be the glory, and so much the sweeter the fruit."¹ Big words indeed, but pregnant with nothing. The vast enterprise was far from being universally popular in Italy; and as now, there was nothing like perfect unity among those who actually took part in the senseless scheme. Clement hesitated, wavered, thought of his money. His allies failed in their engagements. The Imperials were in Lombardy. Freundsberg crossed the Alps with an imposing army to bring the contest to an end. Both

¹ *Lettere di Principi*, i. p. 192; Ranke, p. 29.

general and men were full of Lutheran sentiments. They came to revenge the emperor upon the pope. The latter's breach of the alliance had been represented to them as the cause of all the mischief then felt, the protracted wars of Christendom, and the success of the Turks, who were at that moment ravaging Hungary. "If I make my way to Rome," said Freundsberg, "I'll hang the pope."

"Painful it is," exclaims Ranke, "to witness the storm gathering, and rolling onwards from the narrow-
The sack of Rome. ing horizon. That Rome, so full it may be of vices, but not less full of noble efforts, intellect, mental accomplishments, creative, adorned with matchless works of art (such as the world had never before produced),—a wealth ennobled by the stamp of genius, and of living and imperishable efficacy,—that Rome is now threatened with destruction!" Down on the doomed city poured the hostile army, forty thousand strong; a motley and ferocious band of Germans, Lutherans, Spaniards, and Italians, rushing over the bridge, panting for slaughter, hungry for food and gold. The pope fled; and bitter was the night that darkened over Rome. Men were butchered, noblemen tortured, women and nuns violated. None were spared without surrendering all they possessed. Churches were pillaged; the priests killed or tortured; and the very citadel in which the pope had taken refuge, was besieged.¹ Old Freundsberg was no longer at the head of the army: he had been struck by apoplexy, in a disturbance with his troops; and Bourbon, who led them to the gate, fell at the first

¹ Panv. Clem. VII.

attack. "The splendour of Rome fills the beginning of the sixteenth century; it distinguishes a wonderful period in the intellectual development of mankind. That day it came to an end; and thus did the pope, who had sought the liberation of Italy, see himself beleaguered in the castle of St. Angelo, as it were a prisoner. We may assert, that by this great blow, the preponderance of the Spanish power in Italy was irrevocably established."¹

No greater blow could have been given to the Catholic cause, and from that astounding event—inde-
pendent though it was of religious impulse—
unquestionably the Protestant movement was
impelled with tenfold impulse in Germany.

Success of
the Reforma-
tion.

A year before, at the Diet of Spires, the cause was at least ratified—granted a legal existence; and soon, under the auspices of Philip of Hesse, preponderance was given to the Protestant cause of Germany. Clement, the pope, with his tortuous and selfish policy, aided the development and establishment of that ascendancy, by uniting with the Protestant princes against their common foe, the emperor. And triumphantly did Protestantism advance with the impulse. Würtemberg, which had been taken, was reformed forthwith; the German provinces of Denmark, Pomerania, the March of Brandenburg, the second branch of Saxony, the branch of Brunswick, and the Palatinate following soon after. Within a few years the Reformation was spread over the whole of the lower Germany, and obtained a permanent footing in the upper. "And Pope Clement," says Ranke, "had been privy to an

¹ Ranke, p. 31.

enterprise which led to this result—which so immeasurably augmented the desertion from the ranks of the Church—nay, he had perhaps approved of it,"¹ because it seemed to suit his interests in his contest with the emperor, to make him *enemies*! Such is *policy*!

In this position of affairs—flowing as the river from its source—what prospects had the Popedom? Where was the Roman Catholic religion *established*?
Reflections and suggestions. I ask not where it was professed, but established in the minds and hearts of mankind.

Half-a-dozen years sufficed to rout it from the greater part of Germany; and the influence of its rival was tinging every mind that thought—in every kingdom of Europe, even in Italy.² How easy was the downfall! As it then existed, Roman Catholicism was based on popular opinion, social and political interests. And by the same popular opinion, social and political interests, it was driven from the kingdoms, whence it was expelled for ever. No violent sudden result was that in theory, though such it was in practice. A thousand causes had preceded, eventuating the result. I have touched on many. I believe that Providence watched that result, and mitigated the evil to man, by which it was accompanied. Let those, therefore, who pant for change, for reform, in existing religious and social and political abuses, be at rest. They will eventuate their own correction in the time appointed. Meanwhile let the minds of men be enlightened, and their hearts made hopeful of good. Teach unto men their exalted destiny. Point to that divine example, and His doctrines, so perfectly designed to insure that bond of human

¹ Ranke, p. 35.

² See Ranke, p. 40, *et seq.*, for a most interesting section on the subject.

brotherhood which is knit together by man's best social, political, and eternal interests. It was the absence of such and similar sentiments that made the religious struggles of the sixteenth and succeeding centuries the darkest epoch of man's eventful history.

Popular opinion everywhere prepared the way for the Reformation. Had events continued in the same direction for a few years longer, it is probable that Protestantism would have been Clement's policy. preponderant in every kingdom of Europe at the present day, not even excepting Spain, Portugal, and Italy. Changing his policy, Pope Clement, when his allies the French were defeated, threw himself in the arms of the hated Spaniards, and gave his hand to the emperor, whose troops had ruined his capital. With the activity of a restless mind, he stipulated in the treaty of peace for the re-establishment of his authority in Germany. Yet what seas of blood must be passed ere that result could gratify his cruelly ambitious and selfish heart. But alas! how painful it is for human nature to resign what it loves or covets. Clement VII. pledged his friendship to the Catholic emperor, and the latter, a devout son of the Church, promised all things to the Holy Father.¹ The result of this alliance was another fatal blow to the Popedom. It follows.

Home to the shores of Britain my theme advances. Early was the year of Grace when papal power and papal doctrine shaped the Christianity of The Anglo-Saxon Church. Britons. Simple then were the habits of men—semi-barbarous—or those of children, that fear

¹ See Ranke, p. 31, *et seq.*, for a precious document presented by Cardinal Campeggi, of the Roman court, to Charles V., suggesting the means for exterminating Protestantism. Nothing can exceed its cold-blooded atrocity.

the rod, which is laid on when deserved, and that in right good earnest. There was a king, and there was a Church—but there was not a people. Slaves or children blocked up its place, or were welded to the powers that were, as a mass of useful metal. Times of social mist and “miracles”—times of “saints” and savageness. Venerable Bede! How fortunate was thy pen in selecting thy interesting theme—the *Anglo-Saxon Church*; whose history *modernised*, comes not up to thine as a faithful picture—telling us *all* with blessed credulity. What a time of miracles was that, when Heaven even showed by a shining light where the bodies of holy nuns should be buried;—when a little boy dying called upon a virgin that was to follow him:—and how another nun on the point of leaving her sad body, saw some small part of future glory;—how a sign from Heaven was vouchsafed when Ethelberga, the pious mother of an holy congregation, took her flight to the realms of bliss: it was nothing less than the body of a man wrapped in a sheet and drawn up to Heaven by shining cords;—and how the blind saw by intercession—pestilence dispelled by prayer—an earl’s wife cured by holy-water;—how the palsied walked from the tomb of St. Cuthbert, and how a bishop delivered from the jaws of death, one of his clerks “with his skull cracked, lying as dead.”¹ If Brahminism, Buddhism, Fetishism, or any other primitive superstition supplied the place of a better, then was the superstition of these times a tolerable substitute for the Christianity of Christ.

Down to the memorable Norman Conquest, or rather,

¹ See Bede’s Ecclesiastical History, of which Mr. Bohn has given an excellent and cheap translation.

successful invasion—and, after a bloody battle, reckless possession, what crimes, what baseness, what brutality in the pages of history that follow—and what grinding oppression round about a fattened Early English history.

Church—proud and sensual! How restless we feel as our children read to us the horrid examples of royal and noble crime and cruelty and reckless profligacy! And if they ask us, “Were they *Christians* then?” What can we answer? How can we reply without a homily that would make them yawn? The Church existed in these days triumphant; though ever and anon checked in her prerogatives, still she triumphed, and ruled the British Catholic hierarchy with the iron rod of the Roman Court: so that the most hampered branch of Roman hierarchy was, and ever has been, the Catholic hierarchy of England. Such was, “through the ages of ignorance, the absorbing vortex of the Roman See.” These are the words of a Roman Catholic.¹

How fared the masses, emerging slowly from the bondage of serfdom, but still the menials of power and superstition? Their religion was inculcated by “miracle plays:” they were instructed to The state of the masses. salvation by religion in sport. The clergy were not only the authors of the pieces exhibited within the churches, but were also, without any liability to ecclesiastical censure, the actors in or managers of the representations. But they did not long confine the exercise of their histrionic powers either to consecrated subjects or within the consecrated walls. They soon partook of the dramatic passion which they had indirectly awakened, and at last liked both plays and

¹ Berrington, *Memoirs of Panzani*, p. 292 (*note*). See also Supplement, p. 459, and the *Mem.*, *passim*.

playing for their own sake. In Burnet's *History of the Reformation* we find that so late as 1542, Bishop Bonner had occasion to issue a proclamation to the clergy of his diocese, prohibiting "all manner of common plays, games, or interludes to be played, set forth, or delivered, within their churches and chapels.¹ And we have a specimen of the clergy in the following description: the author is describing how the clergy neglect their duties: "He againe posteth it (the service) over as fast as he can gallop; for either he hath two places to serve, or else there are some games to be played in the afternoon, as lying for the whetstone, heathenishe dauncing for the ring, a beare or a bull to be bayted, or else jack-an-apes to ride on horseback, or an enterlude to be played; and if no place else can be gotten, it must be doone in the church." In proof also, that in the early part of the sixteenth century ecclesiastics still exhibited themselves as *common players*, we see, among many other evidences, that in 1519, Cardinal Wolsey found it necessary to insert an express injunction against the practice in the regulations of the Canons Regular of St. Austin.²

And luscious was the life of monkhood in generous Britain. Think not that the ruins of their snug retreats which you see here and there mantled with
The monks. the ivy-green, were simply the abodes whilom of modest prayer and holiness, midnight study, and daily industry. That time soon passed away,—and the "men of God" naturally resolved, like many others since, to enjoy the fruits of their labour and reputation. Old Chaucer, like Boccaccio, made them a jolly

¹ See Penny Cyclopædia, ix. 427.

² Ibid.

theme in the fourteenth century. Imagine the time when

" A Monk there was, a fayre for the maistre
An out-rider that loved venerie [hunting],
A manly man, to ben an abbot able.
Full many a deinte horse hadde he in stable ;
And when he rode, men might his bridle hear
Gingling, in a whistling wind, as clear
And eke as loud as doth the chapel bell."

Here, in these few verses, are the state and pomp of monkhood vividly presented from the life in the days of its glory in England. Power, influence, enormous wealth, and the enforced veneration of the masses fill the picture. And Mother Church from the papal court was busy with her little matters—but lucrative catch-pennies. Chaucer describes a Pardoner—" a gentil Pardonere of Rouncevall."

" A vernicle¹ hadde he sewed upon his cap—
His wallet lay before him, in his lap,
Bretful of *pardon come from Rome all hot* :
A voice he had as small as hath a gote :
No beard had he—he never none should have,
As smooth it was as it were never shave."

We must see what he has to sell, this gentil Pardonere.

" But of his craft, fro Berwicke unto Ware,
Ne was there such an other Pardonere :
For in his male [trunk] he had a pilvebere,
Which, as he said, was *Our Lady's veil* :
He said he had a gobbet of the *sail*
That St. Peter had when that he went
Upon the sea, till Jesus Christ him hent.
He had a crois of laton full of stones ;
And in a glass he had pigs' bones.
But with these relicks, when he found
A poor person dwelling upon land,

¹ A copy of the miraculous handkerchief, impressed with the bloody face of the Redeemer—kept at Rome, I believe.

Upon a day he got him more money
 Than that the person got in monethes twie.
 And thus with fained flattering and japes
 He made the person, and the people apea.¹

Doubtless some cast-a-way monk, getting his bread as well as he could, and living by his wits—perhaps you exclaim. Not the least in the world :—

“ But truly to tellen at the last
He was in church a noble ecclesiast :
 Well could he read a lesson or a storie ;
 But best of all, he sang an offertorie :
 For well he knew when that song was sung
 He must preach and well afle his tongue—
 To win silver, as he right well could—
 Therefore he sang the merrier and loud.”¹

And, finally, in his description of a Good Parson we glance at existing abuses :—

“ He never set his benefice to hire,
 Leaving his flock acomber'd in the mire,
 And ran to London cogging at St. Poul's
 To seek himself a chauntry for souls,
 Or with a brotherhood to be enroll'd :
 But dwelt at home, and guarded well his fold
 So that it should not by the wolf miscarry—
 He was a shepherd, and no mercenary,
 He waited not on pomp or reverence ;
 Nor made himself a spiced conscience.
 The love of Christ and his apostles twelve
 He taught : but, first, he followed it *himself*.”²

Luxury was attended with many other evils and abuses : the monks envied and hated others of rival congregations. In a manuscript which once
 Their dissen- belonged to a learned Benedictine, and is now
 tions. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,

¹ Canterbury Pilgrimage.

² Compare Cowper's Task, Book ii., “ But loose in morals,” &c. &c.

is a drawing of four devils hugging as many mendicant friars, one of each Order, with great familiarity and affection. They propagated schism. They split among themselves. Mutual abuse was their maxim. The poor ploughman seeking instruction in his creed at the hands of the Friars Minors, was told, as he valued his soul, to beware of the Carmelites ; the Carmelites promoted his edification by denouncing the Dominicans ; the Dominicans, in their turn, by condemning the Augustinians. The frailty of human nature soon found out the weak points of the mendicant system. Soon had the primitive zeal of its founders burnt itself out ; and then its centre was no longer lighted with fire from the altar ;—a living was to be made. The vows of voluntary poverty only led to jesuitical expedients for evading it—a straining at gnats and swallowing of camels. The populace were to be alarmed, or caressed, or cajoled out of a subsistence. A death-bed was a friar's harvest ; then were suggested the foundation of charities, and the provision of masses and wax-lights. The confessional was his exchequer : there hints were dropped that the convent needed a new window, or that it owed "fortie pound for stones." Was the good man of the house refractory ? The friar had the art of leading the women captive, and reaching the family purse by means of the wife. Was the piety of the public to be stimulated ? Rival relics were set up, and impostures of all kinds multiplied without shame, to the impoverishment of the people, the disgrace of the church, and the scandal of Christianity.¹

Then ensued the final preparation for the grand result

¹ Blunt's Reform. in Eng. p. 42 ; Eras. Colloq. *Francisc.* ; Chaucer.

to which I have alluded in a previous page. The final preparation of ruin to papal power in England was *popular opinion*. Against *that* no tyrant, even Henry VIII., could advance with impunity ; but in accordance with popular opinion, or with its indifference, any measure may be carried as easily as the subversion of papal power in England.

Soon those friars and other monks of whom we have read became as rottenness to the bones of the Roman Church. By the time of Erasmus and Luther, they were the butt at which every dissolute idler, on every tavern-bench, discharged his shaft, hitting the establishment and religion itself through their sides. They were exhibited in pot-house pictures as foxes preaching, with the neck of a stolen goose peeping out of the hood behind ; as wolves giving absolution, with a sheep muffled up in their cloaks ; as apes sitting by a sick man's bed, with a crucifix in one hand and with the other in the sufferer's fob.¹ Add to all this the usual effects of papal encroachments, privileges and prerogatives, interference, and legal abuses in the ecclesiastical courts, emanating directly from the Roman "custom" in its grasping selfishness.²

Against this state of matters men had risen heretofore, with the boldness of conscience impelled by religion. The Waldenses, Wickliffe, and the Lollards, had left more than a memory behind them—rendered still more vivid by the successful achievement of Martin Luther.

To the learned of England, pointed suggestions of reformation were made by no other than Sir Thomas

¹ Erasm. Colloq. *Francisc.* ; Blunt, p. 44.

² See Blunt's *Reform.* in Eng. (Family Library) for an excellent account of these matters, chap. iii. It is a most interesting little book.

More. If he knew not what he did, pity it was that he did it at all—for the sake of his church. I refer to his famed *Utopia*. It was written about the year 1513, when he was yet young, and is the work of a man alive to the corruptions of a church of which he lived to be the champion, the inquisitor, and martyr. Through the medium of his ideal republic, *Utopia*, and by the mouth of an imaginary speaker, he censures the monks as the drones of society ; reduces the number of priests to the number of churches ; removes images ; advocates the right of private judgment ; exhorts that the work of conversion should be done by persuasion, but not by coercion ; holding the faith of a man to be not always an affair of volition, he banishes as bigots, from his imaginary republic, those who condemned all heretics to eternal torments, and extends his principles of concession even far beyond those afterwards adopted by the author of the *Liberty of Prophesying*—Jeremy Taylor.¹ More, very consistently, styles these hints at reformation, visionary ; but if he did not believe them right and justifiable, the inference is, that they were opinions mooted at the time, and somewhere in the minds of men. However, More was one of the first to attack Luther's inculcations, and that with considerable acrimony. In fact, he proved himself sternly orthodox—clung to the old faith—was an admirable man—and perished cruelly by command of the ruthless tyrant, Henry VIII.

Sir Thomas
More's
Utopia.

Meanwhile the doctrines and deeds of the German reformers circulated throughout England. The press

¹ *Utopia*, ed. 12mo, pp. 117, 248, 233, 237, 243, 253, 224, 234, 237, 262 Blunt, p. 105.

was active. Its wonderful influence was first made known upon this great question. It seems to have been given to men to aid in the development of these results, the security and permanence of which depended upon their rapidity. Luther was on every lip. Ballads sang of him. His writings, with those of Huss, Zwingli, and many anonymous authors whom the time evoked, were clandestinely dispersed. Tracts with popular titles, such as "A Booke of the Olde God and New ;"—"The burying of the Masse ;"—"A, B, C, against the Clergy,"—made their appeals to the people. The confessions of some of the more eminent Lollards, and expositions of particular chapters of Scripture, which were thought to militate against the errors of Rome, were industriously scattered abroad. Above all, Tindall's translation of the New Testament was now in the hands of many—and a "cheap edition."¹ In all these measures all was not justifiable to a right mind and a right conscience. Partyism was running high : human passions were swelling with the tide of triumph in expectation. Then followed the usual and best aid of every and any movement connected with religion—I mean *persecution*. Tonstall, the Bishop of London, bought up all the copies of Tindall's Translation, according to Fox, and burnt them at Paul's Cross. But already had the industrious Hollanders begun to trade in books for all parties, and Antwerp supplied the English market with a new edition, corrected and amended. A contraband was laid upon the foreign wares. Demand consequently increased, and they were smuggled into the country.

Luther's fame
in England ;
religious
tracts, and
martyrdom.

¹ Wordsworth, *Eccles.* i. 286 ; Blunt, p. 109.

Proclamations followed against the possessors of all heretical writings. Of course they were set at nought. Spies were encouraged; the husband was tempted to betray the wife, the parent the child, and a man's foes were literally those of his own household.¹ And many were burnt for their faith, as we are assured by Fox, whose ponderous and venerable volumes present us with awful engravings in illustration of the horrible and useless expedient. Thus was public *feeling* added to public opinion rising infallibly with persecution. One martyr will any day make a thousand. The sight of blood continually is a specific to harden the nerves and fortify the heart. The burning of a brother intoxicates the soul with unearthly fumes, and during the paroxysm of that heroic exaltation, death, in any shape, will be braved unflinchingly. All will be well with any movement as soon as it has achieved a martyr. We shall soon see how martyrdom operated on the Catholics of England with the Jesuits to "stir" them. That men were found to suffer martyrdom at the period here in question, is a matter of surprise, or speaks strongly for the intensity of the convictions infused by the under-current of the Reformation in England. Without a leader, books impelled them to die in defence of their convictions. It is difficult to conceive the fact asserted, particularly when we know that the morals of the nation at large were of a piece with those of their superiors in church and state, as in all parts of Europe—and very abominable. That men had ample reason to be disgusted with the machinery of Romanism is evident: but that this disgust should at once inspire

¹ Fox; Wordsworth; Blunt, p. 110; Burnet, Ref. i. 48, *et seq.*

sublime virtue in the feelers of that disgust, is not quite so evident. The most natural result of the stand against "Papistry," and of the severe measures applied in its vindication, would be the formation of *partyism*—which seems to be evident from the flood of tracts that deluged the country with "the Word of God" and rancour. More important events followed from a quarter least expected to favour the German movement.

King Henry VIII. had received the title of "Defender of the Faith" for a book to which he lent his name, written against Luther.¹ Leo X. conferred the distinction, which has ever since been retained by the sovereigns of England, as a glance at a shilling-piece shows by the Latin initials, F. D., contracted like its present import among the titles of the Protestant sovereign. The book was a defence of the seven sacraments; but Henry was a very gay liver,² and, therefore, nothing but partyism could exult at its appearance. For *him* there were no sacraments. He was a man of licentious passions, which subsequently became ferocious—a horrible character without one redeeming feature. Henry was married to the virtuous Catherine, aunt of Charles V., whose troops devastated Rome, and whom, by the turn of events, the political pope, Clement VII., was compelled to propitiate in his sad predicament. The pope's fate was in the hands of the emperor.

¹ "After it was finished by his grace's appointment," says Sir Thomas More, "and consent of the makers of the same, I was only a sorter of it, and placer of the principal matters therein contained." It was ascribed to Erasmus. See note to Burnet's Ref. i. 51.

² He had many mistresses, one after the other. It was but a matter of satiety and selection among great "ladies," in that licentious age. See Lingard, vi. 110, for a list of the same, with notes by no means honourable to the Defender of the Faith.

Imperialism was dominant in Italy. These facts must be borne in mind.

Henry's prime minister was the Cardinal Wolsey, as licentious as himself, but somewhat of a politician, said to have "certainly had a vast mind." His ^{Wolsey.} vices were notorious and scandalous : his pride and love of pompous display extravagant. His state was equal to that of kings. Only bishops and abbots attended him at mass : dukes and earls, during the ceremony, handed him the water and the towel. This man resolved to reform the clergy. He was scandalised at their corruptions. Their ignorance gave him offence. Such were the motives alleged, and Rome gave him the power of visitation by a bull. Rome entered into the measure to his perfect satisfaction. The bull abused the English clergy, "who were said in it to have been delivered over to a reprobate mind ;" and yet their "faults were neither so great nor so eminent as the cardinal's." But "the cardinal was then so much considered at Rome, as a pope of another world, that whatever he desired he easily obtained." In 1524, Clement gave him a bull, empowering him to suppress a monastery or two, and there followed other bulls, with the same import and effect.¹ Certainly, if the pope obliged the cardinal by this complacent swing of his prerogative, he disobliged the clergy and the monks, and must have made a very unsatisfactory impression on the mind of clerical orthodoxy. Call a man a rogue, and it may be borne with a shrug ; but tear off his shirt in a frost, and you make a sensation. In truth, the Roman court should have kept in with the clergy and the monks, as its motive for

¹ Burnet, Ref. i.

gratifying Wolsey was not a whit more respectable than would have been its winking at corruption and ignorance. However, such are the facts. A college at *Oxford* emerged out of the proceeds, and that was a consolation to science and morality. But what fierce displeasure against the source of their calamity must have rankled in the hearts of the clergy and monks—a feeling which they would be sure to communicate to thousands who are always ready to sympathise with anything and anybody “oppressed.” No nation exceeds or equals the English in this noble propensity. The inference from all this is, that amongst the orthodox themselves a strong party was created against papal authority.

Henry “fixed his eyes” on Anne Boleyn. She was a “maid of honour.” A French-English woman, with a prominent, pointed, and massive nose, a round
Anne Boleyn.
and fleshy chin, full lips, the upper curling with gentle craft, and a receding forehead, over a slight fringe of eyebrows and prominent eyes, which last remind us that her tongue was not the least of her charms.¹ Henry had played false to her sister Mary, whom, however, he “provided with a husband,”²—a practice royal which was much in vogue subsequently among the orthodox kings of Europe, with Jesuit and other confessors beside them, sighing and winking. Now, Anne Boleyn was not to be “served that way.” But—“she would be happy to be his wife.”³ Henry urged and protested; Anne smiled, but resisted. “She was cunning in her chastity,” says Fuller. A pitiable state

¹ See her portrait by Holbein, or an engraving from it in Burnet, i. 68.

² Lingard, vi. 110, and note.

³ Id. ib. p. 112, with authorities.

for a man ; but, for a king, intolerable—I mean, for Henry VIII. ;—for Henry IV. of France, in similar circumstances, exclaimed, “I find you a woman of honour : you shall remain such, and a ‘maid of honour ;’” to which post he appointed the lady, and treated her ever after with becoming deference and respect. But Henry VIII. burned with inextinguishable lust. Prayers could not avail. Violence was impossible—with a woman strong with a bright idea. “She might be happy to be his wife.” But he *had* a wife, and polygamy was out of the question, even in the Roman court. But he *must* have Anne Boleyn, and so he resolved to divorce his queen, to marry her maid.

Catherine had been espoused to Henry’s brother, Arthur, who died prematurely—a mere child. There was a law made to forbid such a marriage, but there was also a power existing to Henry’s marriage by dispensation. “dispense” with that law, and almost every other. Certain conditions were required—a disgusting inquiry was satisfactorily effected—the lady herself gave evidence—and the pope granted a “dispensation” for Henry to marry his brother’s wife, which was duly done, Catherine being “dressed in white, and wearing her hair loose,” and with the ceremonials appropriated to the nuptials of maidens.¹

Seventeen long years rolled away ; the queen bore him three sons and two daughters. Only one daughter survived, afterwards Queen Mary. For several years, says Lingard, the king boasted of his happiness in possessing so accomplished and virtuous a consort ;

¹ Sanford, p. 480 ; Lingard, vi. 3, note.

but Catherine was older than her husband, and subject to frequent infirmities. The ardour of his attachment gradually evaporated ; and at last his inconstancy or superstition attributed to the curse of Heaven the death of her children, and her subsequent miscarriages. Yet even while she suffered from his bad usage, he was compelled to admire the meekness with which she bore her afflictions, and the constancy with which she maintained her rights. The queen had lost his heart ; she never forfeited his esteem.¹

Queen
Catherine.

Seventeen years had elapsed without a suspicion of the unlawfulness of their union ;² but now, furious to have the Lady Boleyn in marriage, since she would not be served any other way, Henry found out that “he was living in a state of incest with the relict of his brother.” Furious, as I have said, and reckless of the consequences to his daughter, the lascivious tyrant resolved to put away his wife. A divorce must be had. Wolsey, the pope of another world, offered his aid, and promised success. Political motives have been ascribed to Wolsey for his concurrence ; they are unworthy of notice, and nothing to the purpose. A treatise was written, at the suggestion of the Hebrew professor of Oxford, in favour of the divorce ; the king laboured at the clap-trap assiduously ; resting his “cause” on the prohibition of Leviticus ; and fortifying his “case” with every argument and authority which his reading or ingenuity could supply.³

Henry's
tender
conscience.

¹ Lingard, vi. 109.

² See Hallam, i. 60, for some curious facts relating to Henry's marriage with Catherine.

³ Lingard, vi. 123. Lingard gives a note. “Henry, in one of his letters to

The pope had to decide the matter. Pope Clement VII., as Dr. Lingard would say, "found himself placed in a most delicate situation." The terrible emperor, Charles V., the arbiter of his fate, had Pope Clement in a delicate situation. professed a determination to support the honour of his aunt, Queen Catherine ;¹ the imperial troops were in possession of St. Angelo, and kept the pope prisoner ; he escaped to Oviato, only to meet the English envoys craving for their master the detestable divorce. On the other hand, when Clement was besieged and abandoned by all, Henry furnished him with aid ; and the pope was "most deeply obliged to that serene king, and there was nothing of such magnitude that he would not willingly do to gratify him ; but still there was reason that his holiness, seeing that the emperor was victorious, and having reason, therefore, to expect to find him not averse to peace, should not rashly give the emperor cause for a rupture, which would for ever obliterate all hope of peace ; besides, that his holiness would undoubtedly bring down ruin and destruction upon his whole house."²

It is needless to state that with the *people* of England, the fate of the unfortunate queen found sympathy. The defenders of the royal cause—the titled and patronised panderers to his guilty appetite—were drenched with merited opprobrium The pope's advice to an injured wife.—and were in danger of being stoned to death, in the popular indignation at tyrannical oppression.³ Never

Anne Boleyn, writes, that his book maketh substantively for his purpose—that he had been writing it four hours that day : "and then concludes with expressions too indelicate to be transcribed.—*Hearne's Avesbury*, p. 360.

¹ Lingard, vi. 127.

² Letter of the pope's secretary to Campeggio. Apud Ranke, p. 35, note.

³ Pole, fol. lxxvii.; Knight's *Erasm.* App. xxviii.; Le Grand, iii.; Lingard, vi. 127.

was pope in greater difficulties and harassments than Clement VII. ; although we shall find a successor of his, and with the same name, in a similar condition—Pope Clement XIV., in the matter of suppressing the Jesuits. Besieged with arguments and entreaties by the English envoys, Clement sent over to England Campeggio, a cardinal, “an eminent canonist, and experienced statesman.” He advised the poor queen, in the name of the pontiff, *to enter a convent!*¹ A precious piece of advice to an injured woman. It was intended, however, as a dexterous attempt to get out of the difficulty ;—for, by complying with that advice, Henry would be made free to gratify his passion, and the emperor would not be justly offended. The pope’s advice was declined by the unfortunate queen ; Campeggio’s dexterity failed in the issue.² Time rolled on ; nothing was done—so much might be said on both sides of the question. At length the king made his last attempt on the pontiff—consisting of the offer of a considerable present—warnings against the emperor—the proposal of a general confederacy against the Turks. Charles was with the pope at Bologna. Henry’s ambassador had a word for him likewise—stating the arguments for the divorce, with a hint of the great power of the English king, who would follow his own judgment, and not submit to the arbitration of the pope,

¹ Lingard, vi. 143.

² A curious instance of this Italian’s dexterity is apparent in the fact that by some means unknown, he actually got possession of Henry’s letters to Anne Boleyn, and sent them to Rome, where they are still in the Vatican Library, seventeen in number. Lingard, vi. 157, note. The object of this theft was probably to discover how matters really stood between Henry and Anne—so as to shape the papal course accordingly. According to Burnet, Cardinal Campeggio “led a very dissolute life in England—hunting and gaming all day long, and following—all the night,” &c. Ref. i. 111.

against whose authority he had many good grounds of exception.¹ At home, and to his confidants, Henry was more explicit. He avowed that if his last attempt failed, he would withdraw from the obedience of Clement as a pontiff unfit for his station through *ignorance*, and incapable of holding it through *simony*. Further, that he might have no occasion to recur to the papal see in beneficiary matters, he would establish a bishop with patriarchal powers within his own dominions—an example which he had no doubt would be eagerly followed by every sovereign in Europe.²

The pope was compelled to hold out for political reasons, and talk of his “conscience.” For the man who could, as he did, express the wish “that the king would have proceeded to a second marriage without asking papal consent,”³ wished for the accomplishment of evil, and showed that fear only withheld him from permitting the expedient measure. Charles V., his master, wrung from him a Breve, forbidding Henry to marry before the publication of his sentence.⁴

Why the
Pope resisted
Henry.

Then was English gold sent forth on a mission of splendid bribery. Then was the morality in the high places of the age exhibited to admiration. Charles himself was tempted ! Three hundred thousand crowns were offered him—with the restoration of the queen’s marriage portion—and a suitable maintenance. The

¹ Lingard, vi. 169, with authorities. ² Le Grand, iii. 409, 418 ; Ling. *ibid*.

³ Ling. vi. 169 ; Le Grand, iii. 400. Burnet asserts that Campeggio had actually brought over a Bull, by which he was empowered to grant the king all that he desired, if he could not bring him to a more friendly conclusion ; but that Campana was despatched after him to order Campeggio to destroy the document. Ref. i. 93, 99. “Of this instrument no copy is now extant ; but of its existence and purport, though apparently questioned by Dodd, and certainly denied by Le Grand, there can be no doubt,” says Mr. Tierney in one of his excellent notes to Dodd, i. 185.

⁴ *Idem*.

German told them that he was not a merchant, to sell the honour of his aunt. All the learned morality of the age was asked its opinion, with bags of gold before it—like a footpad demanding your money with his dagger at your throat. In England, the queen's popularity, if nothing else, made it requisite to employ commands, promises, threats, secret intrigue, and open violence, to extort a favourable answer from either of the Universities. It was obtained, however, though coupled with a qualification. The king's agents spread over Italy, begging subscription to the measure, and ginging the ruddy tempter. The Universities of Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara, supplied some hundreds of subscriptions. The University of Paris yielded to the "dexterous management" or *hard* impeachment.¹ Orleans, Toulouse, and Bourges and Angers, by their theologians or civilians, responded to the voice of Henry's lascivious nature.

Henry and
Mammon
appeal to the
Universities.

And then he tried Germany and its reformers. "Not one public body," says Lingard, "could be induced to espouse his cause." "*Even* the reformed divines," adds the Doctor meaningly, "even the reformed divines, with few exceptions, loudly condemned the divorce; and Luther himself wrote to Barnes, the royal agent, that he would rather allow the king to have two wives or queens at the same time, after the example of the patriarchs and kings, than approve of the divorce²—a permission which he subsequently granted to the Landgrave of Hesse, with pri-

How he fared
with the
Reformers.

¹ "Et Parisienses, quidem, videbantur approbare, non sine largitionis suspitione, sicut alii plerique."—*Sleidan*, L. ix.

² "Antequam tale repudium probarem, potius regi permitterem alteram reginam quoque ducere, et exemplo patrum et regum duas simul uxores seu reginas habere."—*Lutheri Epist. Hala*. 1717, p. 290. Apud Lingard, vi. 171.

mitive notions or pitiable expediency. Melancthon was of the same opinion.¹ Crooke, in his letter to the king, complains "that all Lutherans be utterly against your highness in this cause, and have letted (hindered) as much with their wretched power as they could and might, as well here (Venice) as in Padua and Ferrara, where be no small companies of them."² But the same gentleman also wrote: "I doubt not but all Christian universities, *if they be well handled*, will earnestly conclude with your highness." On the other hand, he says: "Cæsar, by threats, prayers, *money*, and sacerdotal influences, terrifies our friends and confirms his own."³ Finally, the royal cause triumphed in England—a letter of remonstrance was sent to the pope—not without reproachfulness and a decisive menace, prospective of a coming event—*ut aliunde remedia conquiramus*—and signed by two archbishops, four bishops, two dukes, two marquises, thirteen earls, twenty-five barons, twenty-two abbots, eight doctors of divinity, and several knights. These were "the lords spiritual and temporal, and certain commons in parliament."⁴ It was a demonstration evident and prophetic of papal downfall in England. And the Houses of Convocation—those precious things of nothingness—gave the king whelming majorities—such as two hundred and sixty-three

¹ Lingard, vi. 170—173; Burnet, i. 137, *et seq.* See Hallam, i. 68, note: "Clement VII.," says this writer, "recommended the king to marry immediately, and then prosecute his suit for a divorce, which it would be easy to obtain in such circumstances." But at a much later period he expressly suggested the expedient of allowing the king to retain two wives. It is altogether denied by Mr. Tierney, who says that Clement proposed the matter "for the purpose of amusing Henry, or raising an argument against him!" This is certainly putting the matter in a very amusing light. In general, Mr. Tierney's judgment is, however, admirable.

² Apud Dodd i. 202.

³ Apud Burnet, i. 145, note.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 203.

against nineteen, and forty-seven against six !¹ Peterpence, annates or first fruits, and other papal revenues in England, were not worth a year's purchase.

But the mighty emperor of Germany was the pope's conscience—remonstrances and even threats were vain in the hearing of his Doom, whose voice, The pope in a dilemma. grating harsh thunder, boomed from the imperial mountains. "The cardinal elector of Mentz had written to him to consider well what he did in the king's divorce ; for if it went on, nothing had ever fallen out since the beginning of Luther's sect, that would so much strengthen it as that sentence. He was also threatened on the other side from Rome, that the emperor would have a general council called, and whatsoever he did in this process should be examined there, and be proceeded against accordingly. Nor did they forget to put him in mind of his birth—that he was a bastard, and so by the canon incapable of that dignity, and that thereupon they would depose him."² Truly, this pope had more reason than Adrian, his predecessor, to deem nothing more unfortunate in his life than the possession of power.

In the midst of these humiliating, disgraceful negotiations, the pope sickened, but died not. He relapsed

¹ The question in this last was most extraordinary ; the convocationers were actually to declare "whether the consummation of marriage between Arthur and Catherine was sufficiently proved." Here was a question ! See Dodd, *ubi supra*, p. 205. See in Burnet, i. 158—171., "An abstract of those things which were written for the divorce." It will suggest strange thoughts on the utter prostitution of religion to serve the basest of purposes.

² Burnet, i. 97. This threat of summoning a council of the Christian Church to which Luther had appealed, was the great bugbear of Clement. To him it was always a cause of alarm. Papal prerogatives would be endangered in the present aspect of affairs, and lucrative abuses would sink in the ravenous gulf of reforming energy, bent on papal humiliation. See Guicciardini, l. xx.; and even Pallavicino, l. ii. c. 10. Of course Sarpi, i. c. 46.

“insomuch, that the physicians did suspect he was poisoned.” The factions were stirring; secret caballings and intrigues set about making a head for the dismembered Church. Wolsey was the man He sickens. whom the king honoured. Wolsey was the man of hope. Proud, sensual, unscrupulous Wolsey aspired to guide the “Church of God.” And the kings of England and France, who sided with Henry, immediately united their efforts to place him in the chair of St. Peter; and their respective ambassadors were commanded to employ all their influence and authority to procure in his favour the requisite number of votes.¹ But Clement baffled the hope of simony, and rose to live for fresh humiliation—and more disasters. They besieged the sick man’s bed—they cajoled—they threatened—they actually told him that “his soul was endangered if he died without doing *justice* to Henry!”² What think you of that in the matter of an adulterous marriage? And if such were the *Christian* sentiments round about the very chair of St. Peter, where are we to look for Christianity?

And now five years of this divorce-agitation have tempested all Christendom, disgraced the Catholic Church, humbled its head, endangered the popedom, and brought its English branch to Wolsey disgraced. the verge of separation. Preliminary measures had passed, suggested by Cromwell, who had succeeded to “the pope of another world,” the fallen Wolsey, now disgraced, and lower than the lowest of men, for his self-respect was gone for ever.³ A precious

¹ Lingard, vi.; Burnet, i.

² Lingard, *ubi supra*.

³ “Here is the end and fall of pride and arrogance; for I assure you in his time, he was the haughtiest man, in all his proceedings, alive, having more respect

convocation had acknowledged his majesty to be "the chief protector, the only and supreme lord of the church and clergy, and, as far as the law of Christ will allow, the supreme head." The *annates*, or yearly offerings to the pope, were abolished; "they had insensibly augmented, till they became a constant drain on the wealth of the nation," and amounted to 4000*l.* per annum—about four times as much of present money. And further, it was ordained that the very constitutions agreed upon by the precious convocations should be under control of royal authority. Of course this measure was intended to establish Henry's papacy—the manufacture of a faith for the million.¹ It was Cromwell's invention, and evidently prospective—"prelusive drops" of the coming shower, or rather cataract.

Then, did "gospel-light first beam from Boleyn's eyes"? as the poet Gray declares. It were an humili-

ating thing to think of—a stinging thought
 Reflections. for humanity. Yet, to that base passion all the disgraces of Christianity which we have witnessed owe their origin. Not *Christianity*, indeed, but the Christendom of those days, professing to hold the religion of Christ. It was not Christianity then, but a time-serving, political, sensual, lascivious, avaricious system, formed by the passions and intellect of man. It is instructive to mark the progress of events. The tantalised appetite of Henry first impelled him to the divorce. Absurd, criminal, as the scheme appears to our present sentiments, there can be little doubt that in other circumstances of the popedom, in more prosperous

to the honour of his person, than he had to his spiritual profession, wherein should be showed all meekness and charity."—From his *Life*, quoted by Burnet, i. 132.

¹ See Ling. vi.; Hallam, i. These antagonist historians should be read together.

times of the church, the divorce would have been granted by the pope, and the wishes of the guilty couple would have been gratified "for a consideration." Nothing could be more stringent than the law which prohibited a man from marrying his brother's wife. Yet a "dispensation" was granted by a predecessor of Clement VII., to enable Henry to marry Catherine, his brother's wife. The same power and prerogatives existed in Clement, and "considerations" would not have failed to make him undo what his predecessor had done in like manner. On the first notification of the matter, the pope held out a prospect of compliance; but he was not his own master: the emperor dashed his gauntlet at his face: the pope trembled for his power, his reputation, perhaps his life; and Henry, the sensual and proud tyrant, was baffled by Italian trickery. Opposition only called forth his bad energies; every step he took aggravated the matter, until, with the stimulating approval and aid of interested and aspiring churchmen, a "system" grew up around him, prospects of greater power glimmered to his ambition, and he clung to the scheme as fixedly and violently as he had hungered for the maiden. But he never ceased to talk of his "conscience" notwithstanding.

In 1533 Henry married Anne Boleyn in the west turret of Whitehall. She had been induced to relax in her cruelty, and it is quite natural. She had cohabited with Henry for the last three years; but now being "in a condition to promise him an heir," he expedited the ceremony to legitimatise the child:¹ it is said that he deceived the

Henry mar-
ries Anne
Boleyn, and
follows up
the defiance.

¹ Lingard, vi. 188. This is the version of the Catholic party. I have adopted it, because it seems to me the more probable. There could be very little moral sentiment in a woman who so recklessly promoted the misfortune of another;

priest who married him, by affirming that Clement had pronounced in his favour, and that the papal instrument was safely deposited in his closet.¹ But Rowland Lee, the priest on the occasion, was afterwards made Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield,² and this fact by no means attests the deception. Who will believe that Henry could not find a priest to marry him? Particularly when we know that he found an *archbishop* to pronounce his divorce from Catherine, which came on immediately after, as it were, "the cart before the horse." Cranmer was made Archbishop of Canterbury for the express purpose, and boldly pronounced the sentence already given in by the precious convocations, declaring the marriage with Catherine to have been only *de facto*—a matter of fact, but not *de jure*, a matter of right,

and though she may have resisted, at first, to stimulate desire, and achieve her prime object, these motives no longer defended, when so many *other* impulses drove Henry onwards in prosecuting the divorce. In *that* stage of the affair, Henry's guilty passion gained an advantage, and could "turn the table" on the woman so "cunning in her chastity." For it was evident that he *must* be freed from Catherine, and then a *rival* might, and doubtless would, step into her place. Henry was not the man to refrain from acting on that vantage-ground: besides, it is absurd to suppose that such a man would have waited five years for the accomplishment of his desires; and to talk about his being "stimulated by impatient love" in his marriage, is tantamount to translating five years into as many *days*. Mr. Hallam (Const. Hist. i. 62, note) is very severe on Dr. Lingard for his "prurient curiosity" and "obsolete scandal" as he expresses his objection: but it is necessary to know all, if we are to form a right judgment in the matter of history. Dr. Lingard's reply to Mr. Hallam is worth transcribing: he says, "This charge of cohabitation has given offence. Yet, if there were no other authority, the very case itself would justify it. A young woman of one-and-twenty listens to declarations of love from a married man who has already seduced her sister; and, on his promise to abstain from his wife and to marry her, she quits her parental home, and consents to live with him under the same roof, where, for three years, she is constantly in his company at meals, in his journeys, on occasions of ceremony, and at parties of pleasure. Can it betray any great want of candour to dispute the innocence of such intimacy between the two lovers!" Vol. vi. p. 188, note.

¹ Ling. vi. 189; Le Grand, ii. 110.

² Burnet, i. 205; Ling. *ubi supra*, note.

pronouncing it null from the beginning.¹ All that had been so long contended for was now effected, and all that subsequent events and their suggestions had matured in the minds of politicians followed with the greatest ease and whelming energy. Act after act derogatory from the papal claims was debated and passed in parliament; and the kingdom of England was severed by legislative authority from the communion of Rome. An act of parliament gave a new head to the English Church; Peter-pence, annates, papal rights, and prerogatives, all were abolished with inexpressible facility; the Popedom found no defenders, no sympathy, except in a few crafty fanatics who, with the aid of a poor creature, "the Maid of Kent," frightened Henry with visions and prophecies, and were gibbeted at Tyburn.² The first measure of Parliament, in 1534, enacted that the king, his heirs and successors, should be taken and reputed the only supreme heads on earth of the Church of England, without the saving clause before added,—“as far as the law of God will allow.” I need not state that severe penal statutes were framed to carry out that measure and its endless consequences—as to the deeds and thoughts of men and Englishmen.³ Heretics were to be burnt.

All who refused to acknowledge the king's supremacy were visited with the severest penalties. They were hanged, cut down alive, embowelled, and dismembered. Sir Thomas More and the venerable Bishop Fisher were tried, condemned, and executed by command of the ruthless tyrant, pampered by the time-serving spirit of

¹ Burnet, i. ; Lingard, vi.

² Ling. vi. ; Burnet, i. 249, gives the maid's speech; she throws all the blame of the imposture on "the learned men."

³ Lingard, vi. 214.

obsequious churchmen and selfish politicians, into the development of all the hideous passions that festered in his bad nature. But the *religion* of England, be it remembered, was still Catholic, excepting of course the points relating to papal supremacy and its adjuncts.

These events filled up the last year of Clement's life: they were the more bitter to him, inasmuch as he

Pope Clement
dies—Cath-
olicism lan-
guishes unto
death.

was not wholly blameless with regard to them, and his mischances stood in a painful relationship with his personal qualities.¹ Un-

fortunate in all his enterprises, his abilities seem to have cursed him with invention, whilst his own desires and his circumstances were such as never to permit success. He was praised for his natural gravity and admirable economy; blamed for his great dissimulation, and hated for his avarice, hardness of heart, and cruelty, still more remarkable since his illness.² Incessantly harassed by the emperor, who urged a General Council of the Church, to reform abuses and settle faith—the pope exhausted all his art to put off the measure, against which, as I have said, he had, for many reasons, the greatest objection. But now the emperor would no longer be put off with pretences, and urged the summoning of a council more pressingly than ever. Family discords swelled the catalogue of his troubles. His two nephews fell at variance with each other, and broke out into the most savage hostility. His reflections on this catastrophe—his dread of coming events—“sorrow and secret anguish brought him to the grave.”³ Clement VII. died in 1534. He was, says Ranke, the most ill-fated man that had ever filled the Papal chair. He met the superiority of the hostile forces that

¹ Ranke, p. 35.

² Sarpi, i.

³ Soriano,—Ranke, 35.

surrounded him on all sides, with an uncertain policy, dependent on the probability of the moment—and this was his utter ruin. His predecessors had devoted themselves to found an independent temporal power: it was *his* fate to see the opposite result—the subservience of the popedom—its utter dependence on the will of a potentate, one of whose predecessors had been humbled to the dust, chastised, insulted by a pope of Rome. In the pride of his heart, it seemed to Clement that he could wrest Italy from the grasp of the hated barbarian foreigners:¹ his plans and his schemes, his boasts and his measures only served to consolidate their dominion in Italy for ever. Frozen fast by the winter of calamity, he could neither evince his gratitude to his friend, nor indignation to his enemy. Henry he would have fondled, Charles he would have shattered: for his fate (which was his own making) compelled him, through life, to truckle to the latter, and exasperate the former.

Triumphantly and unremittingly before his eyes, the Protestant secession proceeded to its certain consummation. His curses against it came “to roost on his own head:” his adverse measures helped it along: Luther was in a more enviable position than himself, for kings gave power to the Reformer, whilst they wrenched it from the pope.

He left the Papal See infinitely sunk in reputation—shorn of its thunders—poor, shivering, cold in a wintry night—its spiritual authority questioned and contemptible—its temporal power crushed, annihilated.

Germany, its fortress of old, land of simple faith and home-affections, land of intellect with sentiment

¹ It was actually expected that his reign would prove another like Leo X.'s, *altre tanto felice come fu quello di Leone!* Conclavi de' Pontef. p. 160.

combined, land of severe thought with gay imaginings, land of the heartfullest men—Germany had resigned, scornfully expelled that religion which for ages seemed inextricably rooted in the minds and hearts of her men. Its feasts and festivals, so dear with many recollections in the chronicle of every poor man's heart ; its fasts and penances, so meritorious in this world and the next ; its guardian saints, so prodigal of miracles ; its priests, so able and eager to wipe away every foulest stain from the guilty conscience, and give it rest and certain hope ; its influence over all—the thrilling charm of the words, “son of the church”—all is gone ! As a dream of the night, it lingered a moment : men rubbed their eyes—and it was forgotten. And shall it be so ? Shall Germany be resigned without an effort to reclaim the sons of the church ? Shall Scandinavia, England, Switzerland, France, nay, even Italy and Spain—all tainted with heresy—shall all be resigned without a struggle ? The man is born who will answer the question by his deeds—Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits. We shall meet him anon.

There was no difficulty in the Conclave to elect a successor to Clement VII. By unanimous consent

Paul III. Alexander Farnese was named pope ; he
succeeds to took the name of Paul III. His name has
the popedom. been mentioned before in connection with

Alexander VI. His age was sixty-seven : he had been a cardinal forty years ; and only just missed the pontificate after Leo and Adrian. Clement kept him waiting twelve years ; and then he grasped the object of his ambition.¹ Born in the preceding century, he pursued his studies under Pomponius Lætus, at Rome ;

¹ Ranke, p. 63 ; Panvin. Paul. III. Conclavi de' Pontef. p. 161.

and in the gardens of Lorenzo de' Medici, at Florence, he imbibed a taste for the liberal arts, refined luxury, and magnificence. His earlier private character has been represented in very dark colours—probably exaggerated: for we must always remember that the champions on either side of the religious strife, are generally painted as monsters by antagonist historians.¹ Like Bembo, he had indulged in the licence of the age, had tasted the pleasures of life, incurring by disgraceful wounds some of its retributive pains, if he was not slandered; and lived to exalt the witnesses of his early misdoings to the highest rank. His execrable son, Pier Luigi, came to a violent end in punishment of his misdeeds;² and the conduct of his grandson, militating with his private interests, was, it is admitted on all sides, the cause of that anguish which consigned the pope to the grave; for, “pierced with anguish,” says the Jesuit Feller, “for having tarnished his soul in behalf of his ungrateful relatives, his dying exclamation was *Si mei non fuissent dominati tunc immaculatus essem, &c.*”³

He had been an intimate friend of Leo X. The reader remembers the lake Bolsena, where Leo angled: he was then the guest of the no less magnificent Farnese, whose hereditary estates were in the vicinity, where superb villas and palaces, and extensive plantations of fruit and forest trees had ornamented and enriched the surrounding country,

Paul's qualifications.

¹ Compare Sleidan, Quirinus, Keisling, “Ochin,” Du Chêne, Ranke.

² Bottà (Storia d' Italia, i. p. 236, *et seq.*) expatiates on the horrible life of this wretch, and describes the dreadful crime he committed on a young bishop, who died in consequence, of mental anguish. It was sarcastically called a new way of making martyrs. But Pier Luigi's father, Paul III., only called the unspeakable crime youthful frivolity—*leggerenza giovenile*, and made light of the matter. For his death, see Bottà, iii. 46.

³ Biog. Univ.; Paruta, Hist. Venet.; Ranke, p. 70.; Eggs, Pontif.

planned by the taste of the sumptuous cardinal,¹ who in these pleasant retreats, and amid these brilliant habits of life, bided his time, which came at last. There was much in Farnese to recommend him to the great and the little of Rome, and all the world besides. Deeply conversant with human nature, consummate in the management of affairs, living in royal splendour, a liberal friend and protector of the learned, whose services he patronised, he inspired the highest hopes of his pontificate.² He was a man of easy, magnificent, liberal habits ; and was compared to Leo as a pope, and placed above him as a man of learning, by no other than Cardinal Bembo in a dedication—"for the truth should be honestly spoken," adds the gentle flatterer.³ The cavalier Jesuit, Tirabosch, is exuberant in his laudation of Paul III. (who ratified his society), and the roseate hues of the memory of Paul III., and Ignatius of Loyola, console the suppressed Jesuit in the day of humiliation.⁴ Arisoto, also, lauds Farnese and his "learned company."⁵

Among the liberal arts which Paul III. patronised was astrology, the art of prognosticating the issue of events by the configuration of the stars and planets at birth, or any given moment of a man's life. You smile at the fact ; it is nevertheless certain. "We meet with the most unquestionable particulars respecting the pope himself," says Ranke ; and nothing is more certain than the great repute and

Artrology.

¹ Roscoe, ii. 393.

² Botta, i. 2 ; Conclav. 167.

³ "Qui et pontifex maximus es ut Leo Decimus fuit ; et in optimarum artium disciplinis multò quam ille habitus doctior. Vera enim fateri omnes non solùm honeste possumus, sed etiam debemus."—*Pet. Bembo. Epist. Leon. 4.*

⁴ Storia, vii. P. 1. 23.

⁵ Orland. xlv. 13.

Ecco Alessandro, il mio signor, Farnese.
O dotta compagnia, che seco mena, &c.

practice of this wonderful art in the sixteenth and following centuries, not excepting the present age of enlightenment. "The matter has come to such a pitch," says a respectable authority, "that there are very few cardinals who transact any business, though it be only to buy a load of wood, except through the medium of some astrologer or wizard."¹ Panvinus, a Catholic historian of the popes, attests the fact reproachfully in the case of Paul III.² In effect, Paul held no important sitting of the consistory, nor even made a journey, without having first consulted the stars on the choice of the fitting days. An alliance with France was broken off, because there was no conformity between the natiivities of the king and the pope.³ To those who are utterly unacquainted with the pretensions of astrology, who have not given it a quiet thought, it seems absurd to believe that a man of sense and learning should place faith in so vain a prophet: but a good dip into the thing will show that it is much like Romish controversy—a very entangling and fascinating matter. The more vanity you have, the more likely you are to be entrapped. Learning is no antidote or specific against either infection. Who more learned than the Jesuits? And yet they favoured the pretensions of astrology. They favoured it in the seventeenth century—they favoured it in the eighteenth. With the Jesuits it was only a matter of distinction as to the *form* of prediction. They would have these predictions only as *conjectures*—not as downright certainties. The reason is obvious—

¹ Mendoza. "Es venido la causa á que ay muy pocos cardenales que concierten negocios, aunque sea para comprar una carga de leña, sino es ó por medio de algun astrologo ó hechizero."

² "Eorum tamen studiorum, quod occulta et exitu plerumque vana sint, et alioqui sacratis viris parùm digna, culpam sustinuit."—*Paul. III.*

³ Ranke, p. 64.

the Jesuits were staunch sticklers for *Free Will*—and were the very antipodes of Calvin. “You incur a grave sin,” says Arsdekin, “if from the configuration of the stars at birth, or the lines of the hand or face, you profess *with certainty* to predict future events, which depend on the free will of men—such as a happy or unhappy marriage, a violent death, hanging, and the like :—*but*, nevertheless, if from the influence of the stars, together with the disposition of men, their mind, and morals, you affirm by conjecture only that such a one will be a soldier, a clergyman, or a bishop, such divination may be devoid of all sin—because the stars and the disposition of the man, may have the power of inclining the human will to a certain lot or rank, but not of constraining it.”¹ This philosophical view of the matter is in accordance with the theory of the most respectable astrologers : nay, more, they even let in a fortunate outlet, by God’s mercy, for the direst nativity, or birth-prediction. They make the human will dominant to choose or reject, and fail not to warn and advise. Pope Sixtus V. summarily condemned astrology : but the above view of the “art,” is still inculcated by the theologians of the Roman Catholic Church with St. Thomas Aquinas at their head.

The Jesuit doctrine still prevails. “All men,” says Salmeron, “follow their passions, with which the heavenly bodies may co-operate ; but few men are wise enough to resist these passions, and, therefore, astrologers, *as in many cases*, can predict the truth, and particularly in general events, [wars, seditions, &c.], but

¹ “Quia astra et indoles hominis potest habere vim inclinandi voluntatem humanam ad certum statum, aut eventum ; non tamen illi necessitatem inferendi.”
—*Theol. Trip.* ii. P. 2, T. 5, c. i. n. 4.

not in particulars.”¹ “The question, then, says Ligorio, the Catholic theologian, (in the latest edition, 1845,) “the question is, whether astrology, which predicts the disposition of a man from the horoscope [star-configuration at birth], and the moment of birth, be allowable? Distinguish—if it predicts as *certain*, it is certainly not allowable, since all things are uncertain. This is the opinion of Salmeron, Sanchez, Trullenchus, Suarez, and others generally; but they think it only a slight sin. But if it predicts as only probable and conjectural, it is allowable.”² No wonder, then, that, in the sixteenth century, men ate, drank, slept, bought and sold, made journeys and treaties, by the hints of astrology. It became in fashion, and fashions are social epidemics. Events the most astounding bewildered the minds of men; they yearned for guidance; where could they find it? Religion, politics, morals, all was chaos—bleak, black—or the fumes of burning pitch. And yet they yearned for guidance. Their wants were supplied by those who, in every age, turn to their own account the ignorance and passions of the times. But the art of fortune-telling has misled mankind in all ages and countries, and of all ranks: but never the truly wise. Its credit arises from want of analysis. Any future event, and

¹ “Plures homines sequuntur passionibus, ad quas cooperari possunt corpora caelestia. Pauci autem sapientes qui huiusmodi passionibus resistent; et ideo, astrologi, ut in pluribus, vera possunt prædicere, et maxime in communi, non autem in speciali.” Apud Ligorio, ii. p. 198. Ed. Mechlin, 1845.

² “Queritur inde, an licita sit astrologia quæ prædicit ex horoscopo, et puncto nativitatæ inclinationes, temperamenta alicujus? Distingue, si prædicit ut certa, certo illicita est, cum omnia sint incerta. Ita Salm. *ibid.*, § 3, n. 50, cum Sanchez, Trullench. Suarez et alii communiter; putant tamen esse tantum peccatum leve ut num. 52, cum Laymann, Suarez, Sanchez, etc. Contra, Fill. et Trull. Si verò prædicit ut tantum probabiliter seu conjecturaliter, licita est, ut Salm. *ibid.* num. 53, cum S. Th. Suar. Pal. Bon.”—*Liguor. Theol. Mor.* i. 198. Ed. Mechlin, 1845.

every event, says Sir Richard Phillips, is within a certain range of probability, as 2 to 1, 3 to 1, or 50, or 500 to 1. If, then, 100 events are foretold by any conventional signs, and these events are not improbable, it is 2, 3, or 4 to 1, that they come true. If 2 to 1, 33 may come true ; if 3 to 1, 25 ; and if 4 to 1, 20 may come true, and so on. Herein, then, lies the whole mystery. The astrologer, or fortune-teller, does not invent, but is governed by certain signs, as cards, planets, tea-grounds, &c., &c. ; but these only guide him in announcing probability, and because they afford the key, according to certain rules of his art, and are not his invention, the announcements, nevertheless, come equally within the range of mere arithmetical probabilities. The events are not controlled by the cards, the stars, or tea-grounds ; and, in truth, they are merely the passive machinery which blind both the fortune-teller and his dupe. At the same time, clever fortune-tellers never foretell *improbabilities*. They do not tell a boor that he will be a king, nor an old woman that she will have five or six children. They shape their prognostics to the sphere, age, and circumstances of the parties ; and hence, if clever, raise the probabilities to the highest, as equal 1 to 2, or 1 to 3, and seldom mention circumstances 5, 10, 20 to 1 against happening.¹ Still, in spite of all reasoning against the practice, in spite of all ridicule and denunciations, astrologers, like Jesuits, will ever exist. They supply a want in human nature ; they appeal to feelings and sentiments which will always exist, to whatever point of "enlightenment" men are destined to arrive. Besides, some of their best guesses having become astonishingly

¹ Walk to Kew, *Arts of Life*, p. 727.

true, they can always dazzle the vulgar, and sometimes the "learned" too, with the seeming infallibility. In the fifteenth and following centuries events were so striking and stirring, that the mind was kept constantly on the alert, calculating, fearing, hoping, despairing. That was the time for astrologers, and they swarmed accordingly.¹ Almanacs were their great vehicle of prophecy. Weather, disease, social and political commotions were boldly announced by the month, as at the present time, and if the predictions did not come true, the clever astrologer had always his outlet, before alluded to, to explain how fate was changed, opposed, or modified benignly. But it was scarcely possible for a political astrologer in those times not to hit on something like the truth in the matter of wars, seditions, factions, conspiracies, revolt, treason, circumventions; the most fearful dissensions in schools and churches, and

¹ In the century before, Cardinal d'Ailly actually calculated the horoscope of Jesus Christ! By the English law, astrologers are ranked among "rogues and vagabonds," and are punishable by any magistrate with three months' imprisonment and hard labour. See *Penny Cyclopædia*, for an excellent article on Astrology. It is a curious fact that a book, even now in great repute, on the "art," was written by a Spanish monk, *Placidus de Titus*, about the middle of the 17th century, and entitled the *Primum Mobile* or First Movement, founded on Ptolemy's mathematical calculations. The "art" will be long in considerable repute with a certain class of humanity. I have been told by one of its artists that his door is besieged from morning to night. He told me some strange "facts" of his experience, evidently with the view of influencing my "credulity." Lawyers consult him. Even a murderer in intention, he said, had stood before him! . . . On the old book-stalls of London—those gulfs in which the student swims delighted—works on Astrology find a ready sale, as the booksellers will tell you; and Raphael is not the only successor of the prophet Samuel, as an astrologer calls himself. Doubtless, the "new planets" lately discovered, will produce some perturbations in many a horoscope, and celestial virtues are now being invented in conclave, to correspond with the names vouchsafed to the wanderers by Leverrier and Mr. Hind. *Astræa* will probably preside over the birth of a young King Solomon for England, and *Iris* will further develop the first-rate politician "with all the variegated and beautiful colours of the rainbow."

changes in religion, with consequent persecutions, dreadful and bloody, so that some, and the best of churchmen, would perish through grief and anguish of heart. This is an abstract from a work of the kind, predicting the events of the year 1597, by an eclipse of the moon in the IXth House, as occurs in the present year 1848.¹

Paul III. needed guidance in his difficult position. The false position of the popedom with reference to the emperor—the affair of rebellious England. Paul's problem. were not all that he inherited from Clement VII. His constant neutrality in politics had been his recommendation: he would be now compelled to "pronounce." The great conflict that agitated the world—the strife between those two parties between whom he had just assumed so important a station—the necessity of combating the Protestants—and the secret connexion with them into which he was led by their political attitude—his natural inclination, arising out of the posture of his Italian principality, to weaken the ascend-

¹ *Prognosticon Astrologicum*, by Valentine Steinmetz; Erfordt. "Sie bedeut auch hierbeneben grosse Auffruh, Krieg, Entpörung, und allerley listige Practicken durch Verrätherey, Betrug, Vervortheilung, Verleumdung, und allerley felschlich Beschuldigung, die dann nich allein unter gemeinen Leuten, sondern auch unter grossen Herren und Potentaten werden sehr gemein sein, und derwegen ihrer viel in eusserste Gefahr Leibes und Lebens bringen. *Ratione Loci* aber, als das diese Finsterniss geschicht im 9. Haus des Himmels, bedeut sie ferner grosse Zerspaltung und Zerrüttung der Schulen und Kirchen, der Religion und der Geistlichen Gütern durch Verfolgung, damit ihr viel werden belestiget werden, auch wol vor Leidt und Bekümmernuss dahin sterben, und ihren Geist aufgeben müssen, und werden also diesem nach hin und wider entstehen viel Rotten, Secten, Ketzereyen, und Verfelschung in der Religion, wie ein vortreflicher Mathematicus hievon schreibet mit nachfolgenden Worten." "Si aliqua Eclipsis extiterit in 9 domo tum plerumque inducit disceptationes lites ac dissensiones acerrimas, et mutationes in Religione horrendas, et consequenter persecutiones funestas ac cruentas; dehinc experientur Ecclesiastici statum infelicem, adeo quod nonnulli et quidem maxime præcipui præ tristitia ac animi mæore interibunt."

ancy of the Spaniards, and the danger involved in every attempt to that end—the urgent necessity of Church reform, and the undesirable circumscription with which it threatened the papal power.¹ These were the problems he had to solve, these were the difficulties in which he found himself, out of which to achieve deliverance he would require all the dexterity of the politician. Add to this, that his paternal partialities would constantly hamper his best laid schemes and re-act on his exalted position. His first declarations referred to the reform of abuses, particularly in the court, and the college of cardinals ; and yet among his first public acts, he created cardinals two boys of fourteen and sixteen years of age—one the child of his natural son, Pierluigi, the other of Constance, his natural daughter. And when the matter was talked of, he wittily said, that he made up for their ages by his own decrepitude ! However, after that transaction, he ceased talking of reform.² The Jesuit Pallavicino tries to excuse this promotion as well as he can—that is, very badly, by saying that such an excess of tenderness could not be a defect in any other *prince*—the usual special pleading of the Jesuit : but minds of a sterner morality would ask, in whom should we not condemn the choice of two children to occupy a dignity, whose function consists in nothing else than the participation in the government of the universal Church, and in giving advice in the most important matters in the world ?³

¹ Ranke, 63. ² Serpi, lib. i. ; Pallav. iii. ; Panv. Paul III. ; Fleury, liv. 134.

³ Courayer. He adds : “ Would it not be a defect in others, as well as a pope, to make such a choice ? And what is the morality of the Cardinal Pallavicino, if he thought not so ! It must be avowed that he has a gospel quite expressly

Meanwhile, the Catholic question was to be discussed, and measures adopted to promote its ascendancy.

The Catholic question. Kingdoms, and, above all, the popedom were deeply concerned in the issue, which was

shrouded in darkness. There was bewilderment in the councils of religion—there was bewilderment in the cabinets of kings. The ancient religion, which had become a second nature to the men of Europe, was contemptuously cast off; and there were thousands, the priests of that religion, with their chief, at one fell stroke, impoverished—made desperate by despair. The fiend of religious persecution unscabbarded the sword, and flung it to those who were so naturally disposed to flesh it in the cause wherein their “all” was at stake. And kings and princes, who sided with Rome, were either too bigoted, or too little skilled in the arts of policy, to waive the question of *religion*—so utterly impossible to decide—by resting satisfied with the contingent, if not actual *utility* of their subjects, though differing in opinions. The subsequent experience of three hundred years was to teach that wisest of axioms to blundering politicians. Hence war to the death was declared against the votaries of the “new doctrines;” nought but their annihilation would secure the prerogatives of orthodox royalty, against which it was easy to show that the Protestant movement was outrageously advancing,—although it was evident that revolt, in every instance, was the result of persecution, actual, or undoubtedly impending. Besides, these kings and princes, by attempting to shackle the minds of their

made for the popes, and that it is as difficult to excuse him for his excess of flattery, as *Fra Paolo* sometimes, for his somewhat excessive malignity.”—*Hist. du Conc. i.*, 136, note.

subjects, were the allies of the pope—that object of execration and source of all oppression, as represented at least, to the Protestant world. The crimes, the licentiousness of the late popes, and even of Paul III. himself, have been alluded to, not as undeniable facts, but as the reports, the rumours of the age ; as such they were sufficient to fan the flame of execration ; as such they became historical data of immense importance ; for, even admitting them to be false, did they not influence the minds of men ? And what more could they have done had they been undeniably true ? The actions of men are infinitely more biassed by falsehood than by truth.

Meanwhile, the shock given to papal power, by the Reformation, seemed to become a death-blow by the increasing success of the cause ; and whilst the Catholic powers of Christendom seemed to rejoice in the goodwill of the pope, it was evident that they availed themselves of his supernatural influence, only with the view of promoting that political unity so likely to result, as they thought, from the unity of faith. There was nothing cordial in that amity. The pope might aid them ; but he could neither make nor mar them. The Vatican was shorn of its thunders ; it lightened anon, but the cause of the phenomenon was too evident to the minds of men to strike terror as of old. Other methods must be tried—other means must be developed to protect the infirm old man of the mountain—to prop the crumbling pile of the Vatican. Those means demand consideration. Its spiritual prestige had been always the bulwark of the popedom ;—even in the case of the historic infamy, Alexander VI., and the ferocious Julius II. The spiritual army of the popedom—the

Orders of Monks—were the spiders that wove the entangling network for the minds of men held captive unto death :—the flimsiest of textures is beyond the power of the weakest of insects to break. But now the network of prestige was broken through ; a fierce bison had rushed by and borne it along triumphant ; on his horns its remnants sported in the breeze. These remnants were—papal power and right divine—which had weighed too heavily on the backs of men any longer to remain an article of faith.

How to withstand this upsurging tide of disobedience ? That was the problem. It was a difficult problem ; nothing less than to reform the priesthood and monkhood, expressly for the purpose of doing battle with the Philistines of heretic-land, a land like the floating islands they tell of—here, there, and everywhere—its latitude constantly increasing north and south of its Germanic equator. Paul III.'s very heart was deep set in the mighty problem. If religion was not his darling, ambition was his imperious mistress. Power he craved ; power for himself, and his son, and his grandsons, and all his holy blood. Victory promised him everything ; defeat was too dreadful to think of ; all means and methods must be tried to insure the former. If a remnant of the religious sentiment remained, on *that* the papal sovereignty and omnipotence might once more be raised to rule God's world below. Now, about the year 1537, there was much talk about a General Council of the Christian Church, for the purpose of settling disputed points of doctrine, and the reformation of abuses. The subject, as you are aware, had been long before the world : all seemed interested in the accomplishment ; but Pope Paul III. seemed dis-

inclined to venture his prerogatives to general arbitration. There was evidently a tendency in the age to curtail these prerogatives of the popedom. Various surmises were afloat respecting the pope's motives in his apparent unwillingness or delay to promote the general demand for a reforming council. The political pontiff was certainly more intent on temporal affairs—the establishment of his house—than the spiritual interests of the church, properly so called.¹ It seems but natural to conclude, that, to such a character, the interests of religion were of little moment ; and although we may not “unhesitatingly assert that his own personal feelings were never once enlisted in favour of the Catholic movement,”² we may certainly believe that he made it subservient to the ruling passion of his soul. As far as it was his policy, he gladly promoted that movement, as his public acts so amply testify. Urged by the pressure from without, Paul announced a General Council of the Christian Church. He had sent Vergerius, as legate, into Germany, with a special commission to sound the views of the Protestants respecting the method to be observed in the council, and to act accordingly. Vergerius went to Wittenberg, in 1533, and had an interview with the redoubtable Martin Luther. “I went up to the castle,” says Luther, “where he was ; he cited us, and gave a summons to us to proceed to the council. ‘I will go,’ said I, adding, ‘you papists are taking a great deal of pains very uselessly. If you resort to a council you will not open the questions respecting the sacraments, justification by

¹ “Portato da disordinato appetito a vasti e irregolati pensieri, ò non conosceva, ò non istimava l'espore se stesso, la sua casa, la chiesa, e l'Italia tutta in sommi travagli e pericoli di evidente ruina.”—*Paruta*, 569.

² Ranke.

faith, or good works ; but you merely resort to child's play and idle words, such as fixing the length of robes, or the breadth of a priest's belt, or the extent of his tonsure,' &c. The legate turned away from me, and observed to his companion : ' This man goes to the point at once,' &c. Some one asked when the pope would convoke a council. Luther replied : ' It seems to me that we shall have none before the day of judgment. Then our Lord God will himself hold a general council.'"¹ It is evident that Luther saw the futility of the proposed measure. There could be no doubt that the prominent and essential doctrines of protestantism would be condemned by " authority," leaving the main question at issue still in litigation, and never to be decided—the question which may be expressed as follows : How much may *men* add to the doctrines contained in *Christ's Gospel*, and yet be Christians ? Vergerius gave a bad account of his mission : he affirmed that the Protestants would never receive the Council, if it were not free, and held in a befitting place of the empire, according to the promise of the emperor ; and that as for Luther and his " accomplices," there was no hope of their submission ; and there was no other means of reducing them to subjection but *by arms*. He was rewarded with a bishopric for his pains.²

And now, whilst Henry VIII., in his popedom of England, was constructing his church,—altering, without a whit amending—dissolving monasteries and driving out monks for their ignorance and *corruption*, not half as great as his own, and pocketing their revenues, or sharing them with

Church re-
form in pros-
pect.

¹ Hazlitt, *Life of Luther*, p. 278. ² Sarpi, i. 53 ; Sleidan, l. x. ; Pallav. l. iii.

his minions in church and state,—celebrating the death of the virtuous Catherine by beheading his new queen Boleyn, on a charge of adultery, Archbishop Cranmer pronouncing *another* divorce,—close upon these transactions, clamours for church reform rang in the ears of Paul III., who had promised, but did nothing in the matter, conscious as he was that the thing was next to impossible. To the storm, however, he yielded, and resolved sturdily to set about the Augean labour, like another Hercules, in the matter of the filthy stables. He resolved to reform himself (think of that, for a veteran pope) and his cardinals, and the interesting court of Rome. Four cardinals, five other prelates he selected, to investigate and report on the matter, and to suggest the most applicable and expeditious remedies for universal disorders. Both the matter and the method of reformation were to be their solicitude. The result presented a picture of the “Church of Christ,” after fifteen hundred and thirty-seven years had given her ample time to reach perfection. What a picture was that report! It was a diagnosis of the ecclesiastical epidemic. It proved that Pope Adrian’s words were still too true—that “the disease had spread from the head to the limbs, from the pope to the prelates.”

Their report was heart-rending. They began with the Father of the Faithful. The source and origin of all the abuses, said these conscientious investigators (*Caraffa* was one of them)—the source and origin of all abuses consist in the fact that the popes too easily listen to flatterers, too easily dispense with the laws, and do not observe the commandment of Jesus Christ, forbidding them to take money for their spiritual functions. Then they came

Commission-
ers report on
the matter.

to details. They challenged twenty-four abuses in the administration of church affairs, and four in the particular government of Rome. They spoke of ordination, the collation of benefices, pensions, permutations, reservations, and pluralities. They laid a stress on residence and exemptions. They fell foul on the depravities of the religious orders, the ignorance of preachers and confessors. They did not forget pernicious books, apostates, and usurers ; nor did they stop there. Dispensations stuck in their conscience :—dispensations for persons in orders to marry ; dispensations within the prohibited degrees ; dispensations to simoniacs ; dispensations of vows. And finally they said :—the goods of the church are made a matter of inheritance ; wills are commuted, mistresses are kept, hospitals are neglected. They entered into particulars, ferreted abuses to their sources, chased them to their consequences, and finished with offering a plan of reform to induce the Court of Rome to lead a *Christian* life for the future.¹

No man in the world better knew the truth of all these allegations than the pope himself. He received the document, gave it to some cardinals to read, and proposed it in full Consistory for deliberation. Imagine the rising of eyelids, the shrugging of shoulders, the sighs and exclamations, and the yawnings of the sacred cardinals assembled. And the “fitting of caps” of each on his neighbour. And the fear of one or two simple ones, in a mortal perspiration at the idea that matters were come to a crisis, whilst the veterans stroked their beards, and waited

The matter in
conclave -- a
curious dis-
cussion.

¹ Fascic. Rer. expet. ii. p. 230, analysed in Sarpi, i. 57.

for the speech of *Cardinal Schomberg*, who said, that the time was *not* come for such a reform. Then all was light. All breathed freely, as he continued, saying : The corruption of men is such, that if you wish to stop the cause of one evil, you give rise to another. It is less irksome, said he, to tolerate known abuses, by custom made less remarkable, than by reformation to introduce others which by their novelty will be more evident, and consequently more exposed to censure. And he followed up his argument by a most striking appeal. By reforming, said he, you will give cause to the Lutherans to boast that they have forced the pope to the measure ; in fact, the proposed reform, being a sort of admission that the Lutherans were right in denouncing the abuses which ought to have been corrected, will only serve to foment the rest of their doctrine. Strange sentiments for a Christian man ! But nothing can be truer than the fact he feared to establish—that Luther's movement did prove, in time, a blessing to the Catholic Church, by rendering reform imperative ; and if at the present day that Church is more honestly, more honourably administered in its head, its shoulders, and its arms, Catholics must thank the *Protestant* movement for the desirable consummation. To Luther every honest Catholic, anxious for the integrity of his Church, owes a lasting debt of gratitude.

Caraffa, the founder of the rigid Theatines, was not the man to side with this execrable worldly policy. At once he took the high position of an honest churchman. Reform is necessary, he exclaimed, and you cannot resist it without offending God. It is a law of Christian morality, he added, that as we cannot do evil to procure good, we ought not to leave undone the good

which we are bound to do, for fear of the evil that might ensue. Admirable sentiments, and worthy of a better age; but the fact is, that people in these times knew well enough what was right; but they clung to the suggestions of their perverse passions in preference: it is the habit of transgression that moulds a conscience to suit any case of guiltiness.

The result was—nothing. Opinions were divided, much was said on both sides of the question; it was resolved to defer the matter to another time.¹ *A demain les affaires*—to-morrow for business! exclaimed these men so interested in unrighteousness, whilst it seemed to make them more comfortable in the part they had chosen. To them the Catholic cause was as nothing, compared to the wages of iniquity. The best guarantee of its duration they rejected—cast away as of no moment. And then, by one of those striking coincidences which give us friends—destined to become benefactors to an incalculable amount—at the very time in question, the staunchest champions of the Catholic regeneration were journeying to Rome, perhaps already arrived.

In the year 1537, three men craved audience of the pope; their request was granted. The spokesman of the party was a Spaniard; rather short of stature—complexion, olive-dark: eyes deep-set, but full of fire—broad forehead, nose aquiline: he limps, but it is scarcely perceptible. He has travelled far and wide, and has had many strange adventures. He is now in the prime of life, full of energy, deep in things spiritual, which fit him well.

A stranger
craves an in-
terview with
the pope.

¹ Sarpi i. 57; Pallav. iv. c. 5.; Sleidan xii.; Fleury, 118.

He has studied mankind closely, has borne persecution bravely, has clung to his purpose firmly, and is perfectly versed in the art of captivation. He throws himself at the feet of the Holy Father : there is a great idea in his soul : this is no ordinary man ; he is Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Company of Jesus.

How much depends upon the result of this interview ! How intensely is the Protestant movement concerned in its issue ! In that ragged pilgrim, prostrate at the pontiff's feet, there is a spirit whose expansion and development will find the

An allegory
and a glance
at the future.

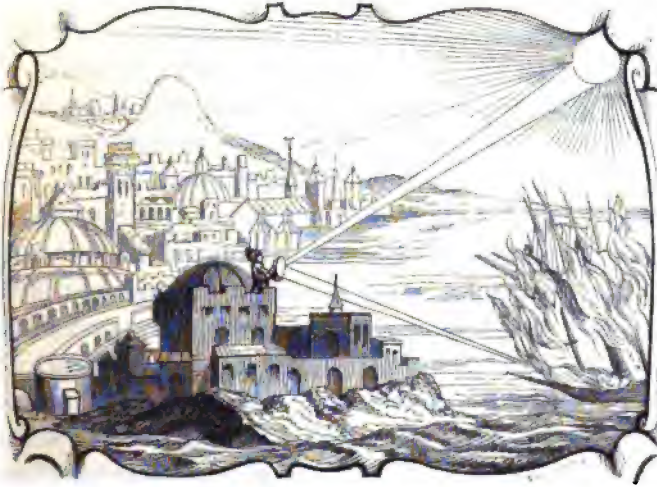
universe too narrow for its grasp. His bosom heaves ; "FOR GOD AND THE POPE," in tones of superhuman energy, solemn and deep, are the words of his covenant. CATHOLICISM, a thing of bones, grey, enervated, decrepit, palsied, shivering, bides the result, in the rear of the pontiff, and she sighs disconsolate on her bed of Bulls, Cowls, Mitres, and Relics. Towards the *first*, vainly she strives to move her palsied fingers ; but she cannot grasp them, though close beside her !¹ Full in front stands the stripling warrior PROTESTANTISM—glancing defiance—his right arm advanced, his massy spear upstaid—the Book in his left, clutched as a flaming sword, whilst he scornfully overlooks the pilgrim, and measures his strength with the pontiff. A rustling of

¹ Paul IV. had been induced to frame a terrific Bull against Henry VIII., depriving him of his crown ; but in the present prospects of the popedom, he repented of his precipitancy. "To publish the Bull," says Lingard, "could only irritate Henry, and bring the papal authority into contempt and derision. It was therefore resolved to suppress it for a time ; and this weapon, destined to punish the apostacy of the king, was silently deposited in the papal armoury, to be brought forth on some future opportunity, when it might be wielded with less danger, and with greater probability of success."—Vol. vi. 226.

bones is heard, the pontiff turns his head and beholds the Thing of Bones, with arms outstretched, wordless, but gasping a prayer ; she smiles to the pilgrim, her ready saviour and deliverer. RELIGION is there ; but how describe her ? Her hues change like the camelion's, smiling anon, then frowning darkly ; pale with affright, red with indignation ; whilst round about her throng, circle, and pass away myriads of earth's habitants—each with his victim-gash, each pointing to the pilgrim—passing on, and rapidly succeeded ;—the red Indian, the swarth African, the sons of Confucius, Buddh, and Brahma, the children of the Sun from the mines of gold, Gauls and Britons—all from every land of earth inhabitable, and each has a history to tell.

And the shades of KINGS and POTENTATES flapped through ; and some said Hail ! and others Malediction ! but the latter prevailed, and their voices roused a thousand echoes, stunning humanity ; but the pilgrim, firm as the wave-beaten rock, was unmoved to terror or despair.

And SCIENCE and the ARTS rushed in, wild, running to and fro ; digging here, digging there ; building up, pulling down, turning every soil, sowing, and planting, and reaping with a magnificent harvest home. The pilgrim, innocent of both, smiles and wonders at the fruits not his own. Enough ! Fiat ! Let there be JESUITS, and there is hope for Rome, her Bulls, and Relics, but not for *Cowls* or *Mitres*, and these shall be dispensed with. “ Give me but light ! ” said Ajax : “ Give me but *Ignatians*, and I'll fire the world with orthodoxy,” said the Thing of Bones, and the wily Paul consented.



Turn we now from the pilgrim and the pope, and glance prospectively into the future about to follow—that we may not be strangers to its workers and their deeds.¹

The struggle for religious unity—the unity of faith—will agitate the Christian world. The triumph of Catholicism or that of Protestantism, will be hope's proposition to the respective parties who will fret and strut their hour on the stage of life. Catholicism and Protestantism will

Catholicism
and Protes-
tantism striv-
ing for the
mastery.

¹ In order not to encumber unnecessarily the text of this prospective glance with special references, I will state the chief authorities for its facts, premising that most of the events will subsequently demand deeper attention, when special references will be appended. Ranke, *Hist. of the Popes*; Browning's *Huguenots*; Ranken's *Hist. of France*, vi.; Robertson's *Hist. of Amer.*; Raynal, *Hist. of the Indies*, iv.; Brantome, *Cœuvres*; Tallement des Réaux, *Historiettes*; Montaigne, *Voyage*, iii.; Garnier, *Hist. de France*, xiv.; Botta, *Storia d'Italia*, i.; Capefigue, *La Reforme*, &c.; Thuanus, xvi.; Millot, *Hist. de France*, ii.; Audin, *Luther*; Mosheim, *Eccl. Hist.* ii.; Kohlrausch, *Hist. of Germany*; De la Place, *L'Estat de la Relig.*; Castelnau, *Mem.*; De la Planche, *L'Estat de France*; D'Aubigné, *Mem.*; De Thou, *Mem.*; Montluc, *Mem.*; Condillac, *Hist. Mod.*; Ligue des Nobles; and many other works; for I have laboured to arrive at right opinions, at least such as seem to me such.

be roused by an impulse, a conviction or sentiment, whose uncompromising tendency will be the destruction of every obstacle which will respectively stand in the way of the former, or thwart the progress of the latter. A terror or a monster to each other, resistance on both sides will become a battle of desperation.

This will be the result of the human, or, rather, inhuman passions, which will be enlisted in the strife, with the imposing banner of religion unfurled. If God will not be for all, every man will be certainly for himself—all his social and political interests will be deemed at stake in the battle of religion.

If we examine the theoretical expositions of the parties, giving an account of the faith within them, both will seem strong in motives of resistance and destruction, it is so easy to justify conscience when the heart is possessed by desire : but this very evidence will give us the key to that box of Pandora, the human heart. The motives of human action will leap forth in succession, the history of events will become credible, and if we sigh at the discovery, we shall still be consoled—if it be always a consolation—with the possession of truth.

Protestantism will have advanced, Catholicism will have suffered in the conflict. In every kingdom of Europe the unity of faith will be menaced, if not destroyed. It had seemed at first, as it seems to many now, a strife of mere opinion, a conflict of words, a battle of croaking frogs. Had that been the fact, it would soon have been drowned in the marsh of oblivion. But *solids* were equally the bone of contention : the *loaves and the fishes* were never forgotten by those who feasted thereon, and laid by the fragments.

The stake of
the battle.

A key to
the box of
Pandora.

Solids were
the bone of
contention.

Protestantism struck at the root of Privilege, Monopoly, and Protection—time-honoured enjoyments of popes, monks, bishops, and priests. Indulgences would no longer be craved and paid for ; dispensations would be dispensed with ; bulls, breves, anathema, and excommunication would be only parchment, calf-skin, or foolscap ; and the result would be painfully inconvenient. The stream of pious benefaction and church-profit would be turned from its prescriptive gulf—so broad and deep ; for it is certain that the gratitude or childish terror of mankind had, from time immemorial, more than rewarded Mother Church for her care and solicitude. A kingdom, with broad lands for the pope—vast revenues for cardinals, pets, minions, and bishops—fertile districts for comfortable monks—endowments, grants, and foundations, for mass-priests and father-confessors ; in a word, the estate of the Church, in the day of her glory, attests the natural gratitude of man, if not the modesty and moderation of his teachers, and his liberal payment to his prophets, who did little or nothing without a “consideration.”

How Protestantism exasperates Catholicism.

Now, however, things were different ; *thought* had changed whilst *matter* was inert, and went as men listed. Many of the great had changed their opinions in matters of faith, but not their natural appetites in the matter of body. Men there were who considered themselves the “Church,” and therefore they had a right to church-property ; and they helped themselves when they found that the Church would be the last to help them ; they deemed themselves “worthy of their hire,” after the old notions ; and the men of Privilege, Monopoly, and Protection denounced

More painful results.

them, detested them as spoliators, robbers, and interlopers.¹ Princes and nobles had come in for the lion's share, as a matter of course, and rioted in the fatness of the Church. Centenary charities circulated in channels irregular, though similar, and the "pious orgies" of monks were succeeded by orgies without "dispensation."

Thus, those who had been rich became poor, and the poor became rich by transubstantiation of substance, as

the alchemists call it ; and many were dying of that great epidemic called "want of money."²

Where to seek
the gist of the
contest.

Herein is the question — broad, deep, high as heaven, low as the other place, and as universal as humanity. Anxiety about the loaves and the fishes will vastly promote the struggles for the sake of "religion," on all sides, desperate, giving no quarter. Ambition, envy, avarice, love or lust, hatred and revenge, will be the sources of leagues and associations ; religion and the benefit of the people will be the pretexts ; sacrifices will be proclaimed, and the people will be the victims. The people will suffer, invariably suffer for their "betters," whose cause they will defend, with blood and bones, under the name of religion. Princes will fight in self-defence, or for self-aggrandisement, whilst religious enthusiasm will recruit their armies, and open the treasures of their subjects. Of the multitudes who will flock to their standard, such as be not lured by the hope of plunder, will imagine that they fight for truth, whilst, in fact, they will be shedding their blood for the personal objects of their princes, kings, or governors, temporal or spiritual.³

¹ See Hazlitt, *Life of Luther*, for Luther's strong opinions on this subject of spoliation, p. 278. Also, Schiller, *Thirty Years' War*, p. 10, where he discusses the subject a *little* after the manner of Machiavel.

² See *Sat. Menip.* c. 1.

³ Schiller, *ubi supra*.

In the midst, or the skirts of this strife—wherein enthusiasm was needed and made effectual—we shall meet the sons of Loyola.

Epoch of Destiny—age of Transition! Primitive monsters will begin to vacate their strongholds; but vast will be their struggle; they will inflict deadly wounds as they turn and fly reluctant, by Fate pursued. Epoch of Destiny—age of Transition. Stirring events will ensue.

Great interests will be at stake. Human passions will inhumanly rage in strong desire. God's justice will be offended—yet men will “think they have a good conscience.” Hideous selfishness will riot in the *act*—religion will swoon in the *motive*. The potentates of earth will fling ruthless swords into the conflict—the ministers of religion will lend motives to the combatants—the sons of Loyola will be there. Man, as a reasonable and moral agent, will retrograde for a time—from bad to worse—but blessed Providence will bring forth good from the evil done. Hope, humbly, then—ye who suffer. God is above.

Draw the curtain and scan the crowned heads of this little world—the arbiters of man's fate—the pagan gods upon earth, if nowhere else. The crowned Heads of Earth.

Charles V., a warrior, and little else besides—except a monk. His hands will be too full, his mind too empty, and his heart too narrow. An army of reckless freebooters will give him a victory or two—he will injure others without benefitting himself, which will be a consolation; he will frighten the pope, Paul III. Being deceived by his holiness, he will undertake to settle the religious bickerings of his subjects, and publish articles called the *Interim*, until the Great Council shall have “pronounced.” Papal, prerogative Charles V.

will thus be infringed, and a Jesuit will trample on the imperial measure, and brave God's anointed to the face. Then Charles will abdicate his sceptre, ensconce himself in delightful Estremadura—turn monk and watchmaker, and die without assigning a reason for what really will need no explanation ; but opinions will be divided—some will say he was “disgusted with power,”—others, “convinced that all is vanity of vanities,”—some, that he was “crippled with the gout,” and therefore resolved to risk no more “the diminution of his high reputation,”—and others will say, that he would give “an interesting and sublime lesson of resignation, contentment, and humility to mankind.”

A Jesuit will visit and spend an edifying hour with the prostrate monarch.

His son will succeed him—Philip II. Gold will make him great—and craft will make him little. The wealth of the crushed Indians will fill his coffers—
 Philip II. and Jesuits will waste not a little of the price of blood. Freedom will be his bugbear—his nightmare for ever : Protestantism his haunting devil. Poor fool of power ! He will support factions and leagues, and yet have no authority in their councils. He will fancy himself their spring : he will be only their dupe. He will “stir” the Netherlands so bunglingly, that he will lose many provinces for his pains, and his bigoted Catholicity. He will “stir” Ireland, which was stirred long before him, and all to little purpose for himself—but hideous suffering for the dupes of his dupers—the Jesuits. He will “stir” England in like manner, and with the same result—superadding a huge calamity to his country, the destruction of her fleet, the invincible Armada. He will think of humbling his enemies ; and

they will crush him. Finally, he will ruin his own country. Spain will be the first power in Europe when Charles abdicates ; Philip will only leave her the ambition of being such again, and a crafty system of politics, which will disturb her neighbours, but never raise herself again. Philip's heart will be cruel, his mind shallow ; he will plan much, and do nothing but evil to the world, and his country. He will die an object of pity and compassion.

The Jesuits will be his faithful ministers, and very humble servants.

Mary of England, his wife, will have passed away, with execrations on her head for the blood she will draw in defence of her faith, in hatred of Protestantism ; the Catholic cause will triumph ^{Mary of England.} again—barbaric priests and bishops will torture and burn the heretics : the queen will die and their cause will be found in a dread minority. Elizabeth will spring to the throne, a man in mind, and anything you like in heart—the nation's Protestant Queen.

Jesuits will brave her power. Jesuits will defy her authority—"stir" her people—delude many—and die bravely in their cause :—for the sword of the law will fiercely, ruthlessly, cruelly rage against ^{England.} traitors and dangerous fanatics, who would never have existed, in all probability, without the stirring Jesuits. But the cruel, atrocious measures in Elizabeth's reign, and that of her successor, will be ruinous to the cause of Christianity, and only tend to perpetuate all manner of craft and iniquity, destined to entail, sooner or later, a terrible retribution.

We shall meet, in those days, the redoubtable, cunning, unprincipled Jesuit Parsons. King-killing doctrine will be rife.

A memorable event will render famous, or infamous, every succeeding year : each decade will behold a revolution—the massacre of St. Bartholomew in France.

1572—the horrors of the League in 1585—the accession of Henry IV. to the throne of France, in 1593. The murder of a king will have preceded, and Henry himself will fall by the knife of the assassin. King-killing doctrine will not be obsolete : monks, or Jesuits, will always be found able, ready, eager to inculcate and to defend the proposition. But more terrible events shall have preceded.

What shall we find in Italy ? Crafty, ambitious, or worldly-minded popes, rising from their humiliation and presuming on their regenerated power—the work of the indefatigable Jesuits, who will soon have achieved their promises. But the ambitious Paul IV., pope of Rome, will induce Henry II., of France, to invade Naples. Philip will despatch his Duke of Alva to Italy, whence he will soon expel the French under Guise, and overrun the States of the Church, saying that “he will hold all the places he shall take, in trust for the next pope.” Such will be the pretext of Philip II.’s conscience, consenting, in his prodigious orthodoxy, to war against the Father of the Faithful. His soldiers will complain that they battle with a mist—a cloud—and can clutch nothing :—for all will be hungry in those days of craft, rapine, and murder.

Policy and pay will achieve all things :—the Protestant leader, the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, first Duke of Prussia, will befriend the Pope of Rome in his difficulties ; and the pope’s best troops will be Protestant Germans—jeerers of images—scoffers of the mass, and breakers of the fast,

sons of Luther. *They* will not battle with a mist ; nor will they be fighting for the pope ; for Albert will only be trying to build up a kingdom near the pope's right hand, Austria and Poland. He will not succeed, however, for his policy in siding with the pope. Nor let the fact surprise you ; even Solyman the Turk, the infidel, will be solicited to fight in the papal cause !

This Pope Paul IV., an old brawny veteran of eighty years, will feel the weight of the Spaniards more than that of age. He will sit for hours at table over the black, thick, volcanic wine of Naples, ^{Pope Paul IV.} (his favourite drink,) and pour forth torrents of invectives against the Spaniards, styling them schismatics, heretics, accursed of God, seed of Jews and Moors, dregs of the world ; and finish his benediction with a prophecy from the Psalms applied to his blessed self, saying—"Thou shalt walk upon serpents ; thou shalt tread upon lions and the dragon !" And he will raise to the rank of cardinal his nephew Carlo, who will have revelled in the wild excesses of a soldier's life, and of whom Paul IV. himself will have said that "his arm is dyed in gore to the elbow." His other nephews he will make a duke and a marquis, Palliano and Montebello. Their claims to favour will be—hatred to the Spaniards ! In that passion the pope will forget reform—his once darling object ; for it is of *Caraffa*, the founder of the *Theatines*, the honest Christian of a few years ago, that you have been reading ! But another change will ensue—his eyes will be opened—the rage of reform again will rouse him to the effort—he will disgrace his own nephews in spite of every solicitation—sudden as the lightning will be the resolution—rapid as the same its execution and ruin. An old Theatine, Don Geromia, will have

“taught him things he never could have guessed.” And then he will launch into universal reform, reckless of consequences, even as he advised on a former occasion. He will literally fulfil every wish he then entertained ; the church and court of Rome he will thoroughly purify ; not an abuse will remain unrectified. A medal will be struck, representing him under the type of Christ clearing the temple. It will be his boast, that he let not a day pass without promulgating some order towards the restoration of the church to its original purity ; and the horrible Inquisition, with its tortures to compel the detection of accomplices, will aid him in his purification.

He will give the Jesuits considerable trouble ; hamper them in their measures ; alter their Constitutions in two essential points ; and keep them in terror, as though destruction impended. But they will have a crafty general at their head, and he will allay the tempest ; their day of triumph will come, when the terrible old pope will fall back and die—when his memory will be execrated—his statue pulled down and broken to pieces, and the triple crown dragged through the streets. Then will the Jesuit-general stand a good chance of being elected Pope of Rome ! Whatever be your humiliation, will you ever despair ? Whatever state of things annoy, disgust you, will you ever think a change impossible ? Think of these events, and learn to be patient.

A fearful slaughter of Paul’s nephew and his relatives will engorge the next pontificate, and the Jesuits will figure, crucifix in hand, at the awful execution.

The great Council of Trent will give them, and will have given them a field to fight their theoretic battle for

papal authority, and to compromise the rights of bishops, who will never be able to cope with the Jesuits.

From Italy's spiritual kings, if you turn to France you will behold Henry II. in the lap of favourites :—ambitious and moderate, warlike and cruel, according to the opinions and influence of those to France. whom he is attached, and in whose opinion he confides for a time. Diana of Poitiers is his mistress—her ruling passions are avarice and ambition. Catherine de' Medici is his queen—crafty, accommodating, supple—as ambition requires—and destined to a cursed immortality, she will give the signal for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. A slight amelioration in the treatment of the Protestants of France will be permitted by the intervention of her Parliament. Bigotry will take alarm. The Cardinal de Lorraine obtains an edict which enables bigotry to torment the Protestants. A Dominican monk is appointed Inquisitor of the Faith in France—a tribunal with its penetrating police is established. Remonstrances follow ; even the Catholic bishops are disgusted, for humanity is neither confined to times, places, nor religions. The Parliament takes up the cause of mercy, and the noble Seguier boldly denounces the short-sighted policy of selfish bigotry. In his memorable speech on that occasion, he will speak counsel and warning for all succeeding times. Tracing the practical dangers of the visionary theory, denouncing the endless injustice of the persecuting scheme, predicting its inefficacy, and then branding the parasites—the self-seekers—the hangers-on of court favour—the panderers to crime—saying : “ And as for you, sirs,” turning to the counsellors of state, “ you who so calmly hear me, and apparently think that the affair does not concern you, it is fit that you should be

divested of that idea. As long as you enjoy favour, you wisely make the most of your time. Benefits and kindness are showered on your heads : every one honours you ; and it enters the mind of no one to attack you. But, the more you are elevated, the nearer you are to the thunderbolt ; and one must be a stranger to history not to know what is often the cause of a disgrace. But to date from the registering of this edict, your condition would cease to be the same : you will have, as in times past, for successors, men poor and hungry, who, not knowing how long they may remain in office, will burn with a desire to enrich themselves at once, and they will find a wonderful facility in so doing ; for, certain of obtaining your confiscation from the king, it will only be necessary to make sure of an inquisitor and two witnesses ; and though you may be saints, you would be burned as heretics." The speech makes a "sensation"—the king is "affected"—but, for a time at least, the Inquisitor is not shaken. There he stands, firm as Egyptian pyramid, with his four cardinal-pointed sides frowning over the doomed heads of the poor mechanic in his daily toil—of the shepherd watching his flock—of the student in his whispering closet silent as death—every heretic in the length and breadth of the land.

After incalculable suffering, bitterness, and strife, Henry IV. will reward his Protestant subjects for their services in fighting his battles with the *Edict of Nantes*, and will favour the Jesuits—to counteract the craft and machinations of Spain.

The Inquisition and the monks will sap the foundation of Protestantism : will strive to restore the supremacy of Rome—and nowhere more than in Portugal under John III. ; but the Romans themselves will rise up

against the iniquitous tribunal with which they are menaced, and demolish the prisons of the "Holy Office." The horror of these persecutions subsequently induce the phlegmatic Hollanders to embrace the religion of Luther. Vain is the flood of new monks, capuchins, recollets, and barnabites—the Reformation is spread over Germany, a part of France, England, Sweden, Poland, and amongst the chamois-hunters of Switzerland.

The advance
of Protest-
antism.

But the Jesuits will go forth, and bring back many a straggler to their fold—and sing the triumph of the faith.

From the governors of earth—their means and their methods—let us turn to the governed, and behold the human nature of those eventful times.

In Italy, amidst its splendour of arts and science, its talk of religion—morals are so corrupted, that public shame is utterly lost; the vices of individuals, even the most remarkable for their riches, rank, and position, exhibit a front of brass in the boastful impudence of guilt. Nothing is concealed—nothing disgraces. Princes and their ministers, only intent on gaining their objects, reject not, in their affairs and consultations, the utmost perfidy or atrocity—not even excepting poison and secret murder. In the memories of men rife and palliating are the deeds of Alexander VI., his execrable son, and their minions. The licentious court of Leo X. is not forgotten. The doctrines of Machiavel, proposing expediency as the motive for every action, and making all things lawful by that standard, infect all deliberations, and are brought to bear on every measure.¹ Intentions are perverse, means

Morals in
Italy.

¹ No author's meaning can be plainer than Machiavelli's, and yet no author has found so many discordant interpreters; some representing him as the

are abominable, superstition is general, religion scarcely felt or respected, and trampled under foot in the very spot where it should find its sanctuary and defence. No wonder, then, that Italy will suffer so long, so bitterly, social and political afflictions to the latest posterity. Its science will increase, its arts will expand—but the perversity of the national character will continue to administer premiums to dexterous craft rather than simple virtue. Dexterity will be the nation's virtue. Its possessors will find in Rome admiration and liberal reward.

perverter of all morality, others as only the satirical denouncer of the principles then in vogue. The very fact of this defence, however, is an evidence of the atrocious principles inculcated in his works. That he wrote as he felt, I have no doubt. His *Principe* is the great stumbling-block, but many of its principles are found in his other works as well, and to the former he refers for further elucidation. Bacon excused him with the argument above given, and Macaulay dismisses the subject with a broad cachinnation. Roscoe does not doubt his "sincerity," and Sismondi gives the vote against the politician. The king of Prussia, in his *Anti-Machiavel*, says he is in politics what Spinoza is in faith. Earlier writers were not deceived by appearances. Though his book was published in Rome (after having circulated in manuscript), though the author was the confidential friend of Pope Clement VII., though his maxims were carried out in church and state, he lacked not denouncers. The Englishman, Cardinal Pole, was the first to pronounce against *Il Principe*, and the author generally, in his Apology for the Unity of the Church; and the Jesuit Ribadeneyra, one of the first companions of Ignatius, abuses Machiavel in *unmeasured terms*, in a work expressly written to describe the early Jesuit notion of a Christian prince. I shall have occasion to advert to one or two maxims inculcated in this Jesuit-book. From the notes to Alciati's Emblems, by Minoe, published in 1608, and by the *Cautio* of the Jesuit Possevin, in 1592, it appears plainly that no doubt was then entertained of Machiavel's perfect sincerity and good faith in his diabolical politics. Butler says:

" Nick Machiavel had ne'er a trick,
Tho' he gave his name to our Old Nick."

Hud. P. iii. C. 1.

"But," says Macaulay, "we believe there is a schism on this subject among the antiquaries." See Roscoe, *Leo X.*, ii., 290; Bacon, *De Augm. Scient.* l. vii.; Sismondi, i., 430; Macaulay, *Crit. and Hist. Essays*, i.; Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett.* vii., P. i. 518; Alciati *Emblem. per Claud. Minoem*, p. 683; Ribadeneyra, *Tratado de la Religion*, &c., Madrid, 1595 (first edition); *Mem. of Machiav.* prefixed to Bohn's excellent translation, P. xv.; Bossi, x., 101, 106.

In Spain, results avenge the fate of America, discovered, ruled with a rod of iron, and crushed by the Spaniards. Moral turpitude had fallen back Morals in Spain. redoubled on the homes of the corrupters—

we behold that result in their pride, their avarice, and diabolical licentiousness. The Spaniards disdain the common occupations of life. The dignities of the church, the insignia of office, become their aspirations. The spirit of industry is dead—their manufactures languish—labour is a disgrace: but to figure in the pompous retinue of the great, even as domestics, is an honour, a distinction. Foreigners step in, do their work, and carry off fortunes. Enervated by luxury, uncultivated in mind, ashamed to labour, men find in monasteries and the church a beggarly refuge, subsistence, and the distinctions which superstition lavishes on its priests, friars of every hue, and fattened monks.

And fiendish cruelty has unhumanised the hearts of America's conquistadores—plunderers of the savage, yet Cross in hand. A dread demoralisation ensues. It seems as if men look on crime as on their meals,—with an appetite or not as the case may be—but all is natural. Iterated example trains to imitation. Children grow up like their parents: born in the midst of wickedness, how can they be otherwise? In 1523, assassinations were so frequent in Spain that every man was allowed to wear a sword for his own defence. Only the *nobles* were allowed them before. Then the dread Inquisition lowered on the land, generating suspicion in every heart, mistrust, jealousy, in every mind. A son may accuse his father, a mother her child and her husband; a man his friend or fellow-citizen.

In Germany, Protestantism arrests attention. We

stand aghast, bewildered by the violence with which men quarrel about opinions. Protesting against Romanism, they are not united among themselves. Morals in Germany. They may thus be conquered in detail—or goaded on, one against the other—set to persecute each other—the Jesuit method in Austria so successful. But what shall we say of that flagrant example of expedient connivance—nay, authorised infringement of a sacred law—the bigamy of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse? Luther and Melancthon repent too late for their share in the scandal. The moral sentiment of Protestantism sees with disgust the names of Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and four other Protestant leaders, affixed to the document permitting the prince to have two wives together—Protestant leaders being present at the secret marriage, subsequently by woman's vanity divulged.

In France luxury and extravagance are excessive and universal. Italy and Spain give the fashion. Severe enactments are issued by authority against abuses, but what can effectually resist the Morals in France—the League. spirit of an age? It may be changed or modified by influence, but it cannot be suppressed by force. The pride and vanity of the lower ranks vie in display with the great: jealous bickerings ensue: the nobles present a petition to restrain the extravagance of the upstarts—and do not forget to throw in a remonstrance against the prevalence of public-houses for games of hazard and prostitution. The presumption of these upstarts, the contemptible “lower orders,” is curiously exemplified and awfully punished. Francis I. meets with an accident which compels him to cut his hair short, and he further adopts the fashion of wearing a beard. Some plebeians take it into their heads to do

the same. The indignant nobility get an edict, in 1553, from the king, enjoining every plebeian, husbandman, and farmer, under penalty of the gibbet, to cut their beards—for long beards are the distinguishing marks of the nobility. Meanwhile the education of children is neglected—their fathers are “gone to the wars,” or plunged in dissipation—their mothers thinking of gaudy attire, fantastic display in dress; not the most modest above, though below, their garments sweep the ground as in the beginning of a succeeding century. Contemporaneous authors depict the morals of the age: the privileged classes stand before us in their loathsomeness. Meschinot de Mortières, Martial d’Auvergne, Chartier, and Cornelius Agrippa, the Diogenes of the times, pourtray the “gentlemen” of those days, without mincing matters or lacking hard words. The untranslatable epithets of the last are given below.¹ He has to smart for his truth and philosophy. Transition, the indefatigable spirit that slumbers never, is tempting the masses with the baits of knowledge. The masses are biting fast, and are being caught, as in Germany, in England, Switzerland, and elsewhere—to escape with a jerk anon: but the nobles, the gentlemen of France, deem ignorance an honour. “The young lords,” says Alain Chartier, “are nurtured in delights and idleness. As soon as they are born, that is, as soon as they learn to speak, they are in the school of gluttony and bad words. Their people adore them in the cradle, and train them to forget themselves and others

¹ “Ils sont brigands, enfonceurs de portes, ravisseurs, meurtriers, larrons, sacrilèges, batteurs de pavé, putiers, maquereaux, bordeliars, adultères, traistres, concussionnaires, joueurs, blasphémateurs, empoisonneurs, parricides, boute-feux, pirates, tyrans et semblables qualités,” &c.

as if they were born only to eat and drink, and the people created only to honour them. And more; for this foolish talk runs now-a-days among the courtiers, that a gentleman ought not to know letters. And they hold it a reproach to gentility to know how to read well and write well. Alas! What greater folly can there be, or what more dangerous error to be made public."¹ Duelling is in vogue. Henry II. lends his august presence to a personal encounter, in which his favourite is mortally wounded. After the victory the survivor kneels before the king, thanks God, and beating his breast, exclaims, *Domine, non sum dignus*—O Lord, I am not worthy! The two champions will have sworn, according to ancient usage, that "they have not, either on their persons, or their arms, any *charm or incantation* to aggrieve the enemy, because they will not aid themselves with anything but God, and their right, and the strength of their bodies and arms."

Meanwhile Protestants are burnt without mercy. Even pity is denied them: members of Parliament are arrested for suggesting a modification in the rigour of the laws. The Jesuit Daniel calls this "unreasonable compassion," in his heavy, dull History of France. Hatred for the Church of Rome necessarily increases. The fiercest passions of men—in the persecuted and the persecutors—are in continual irritation, and constant display: but persecution strengthens the suffering cause, and preserves its rank and file: at the court, in the city, the provinces, amongst all orders of men, the

¹ Chartier died in the preceding century. He it was whom Margaret of Scotland kissed as he slept in a chair, by way of tribute to his "eloquent lips" which "had said so many fine things." He was called the Father of French eloquence.

reformed doctrines have supporters. A crisis is inevitable. Imagine a royal mandate such as goes forth, enjoining the judges to arrest as accomplices of heresy all who shall even solicit in favour of the heretics! That crisis comes at last. The Catholic League, under ambitious princes and nobles, and bigoted popes and kings, spreads horrible war and devastation over France. The Protestants hideously cope with their persecutors, and follow their example of fiendish atrocity. These are the wars of the *League* and the *Huguenots*.¹ The fierce, ruthless Huguenot, Baron des Adrets, displays the atrocities generated by religious discord brought to bear fruit in political abuses. He caught two hundred Catholics, and hurled them from the windows of his castle, in the ditch below, to certain destruction. One of them clung to a branch in his fall—clung with a grip such as the fear of certain death nails to an object. The baron poured shot and stones at him ; but never a

¹ The origin of this name is curious : it is not from the German *Eidgenossen*, as has been supposed. Regnier de la Planche accounts for it as follows :—"The name *huguenot* was given to 'those of the religion' during the affair of Amboise, and they have retained it ever since. I'll say a word about it to settle the doubts of those who have strayed in seeking its origin. The superstition of our ancestors, to within twenty or thirty years thereabouts, was such that in almost all the towns in the kingdom, they had a notion that certain spirits underwent their *Purgatory* in this world, after death, and that they went about the town during the night, striking and outraging many people whom they found in the streets. But the light of the Gospel has made them vanish, and teaches us that these spirits were street-strollers and ruffians. At Paris the spirit was called *le moine bourré* ; at Orleans, *le muet Odet* ; at Blois, *le loup garou* ; at Tours, *le Roy Huguet*, and so on in other places. Now, it happens that those whom they called Lutherans were at that time so narrowly watched during the day, that they were forced to wait till night to assemble for the purpose of praying to God, for preaching, and receiving the holy sacrament : so that, although they did not frighten, nor hurt anybody, the priests, through mockery, made them the successors of those spirits which roamed the night ; and thus, that name being quite common in the mouth of the populace, to designate the evangelical *huguenots* in the country of Touraine and Amboise, it became in vogue after that enterprise."—*De l'Etat de France*. An. 1560 (Panth. Litt.)

missile touched him as he hung—fast and resolute. Struck with the fact—moved by his intrepidity—the fierce Adrets spared and saved the man thus rescued as by miracle.¹ Montluc, the Catholic leader, was equally ferocious. “I procured,” he says, “two executioners, who were called my lacqueys, because they were so much with me.” The dreadful and universal massacre of the Protestants on the day of St. Bartholomew, by order of the king in council, will never be equalled by Protestants—however criminal may have been the acts of some of their leaders. They suffer terrible calamities and yet are not “put down.” What more inspiring to their cause than a simple fact as the following. A poor man and his wife are burnt alive. As they go to death, the wife exhorts her husband to suffer, saying: “Have courage, my brother, for to-day we shall go together to heaven.”—*Ayez bon courage, mon frère, car aujourd'hui nous irons ensemble en paradis.*

And the effects of these wars on humanity, what are they? A year of civil wars is enough to bring shapeless desolation where all was once prosperity. Agriculture is neglected, where, we are told, it has been better attended to than in any other country—France, the garden of the world, as the chronicler calls his fatherland. Towns and villages without number have been sacked, and pillaged, and

Results of
the “relig-
ious” wars.

¹ A different, but very improbable version of this affair is given by others. The baron's men are placed in the moat to receive the Catholics on their pikes! Enough to smash themselves to death, certainly. Then we are told that the poor fellow in question, being ordered to leap, stopped twice, on the brink. “Coward!” exclaims the baron, “you have shrunk back twice!” “I’ll give you ten times to do it, brave general!” replies the man—and he is pardoned for his wit! It is evident that *Castelnau's* account is nearer the fact. See his *Mémoires*, l. iv. c. 2. We are farther told that the baron used to bathe his children in the blood of slaughtered Catholics (!)

burnt, and have become deserts. The poor labourers have been driven from their dwellings, robbed of their goods and cattle, taken for ransom, and pilfered, to-day by one party, to-morrow by the other, *whatever may be their faction or religion*; and they take to flight like savage beasts, abandoning all they possess, so as not to live at the mercy of those who are without compassion. Trade and the mechanical arts are discontinued: for the merchants and artisans have quitted their shops and trades to buckle on the breast-plate. The nobles are divided—the churchmen are oppressed—no man is sure of his goods or his life. Where force and violence give the law, justice is not administered: magistrates and statutes are disregarded. In fine, the civil war has been the inexhaustible source of all manner of wickedness—robbery, murders, incests, adulteries, parricides, and other vices as enormous as can be imagined—for which there is no check—no chastisement. And the worst is, that in the war, the arms which have been taken in defence of religion, have annihilated all religion and piety, have produced, like a rotten body, the vermin and pestilence of an infinite multitude of *atheists*: for the churches have been sacked and demolished, ancient monasteries destroyed, the monks driven out, the nuns violated. What has required four hundred years to build, has been destroyed in a single day—without sparing the sepulchres of kings and of our fathers. Behold, my son, says the chronicler, behold the fine fruits which civil war produced, and will produce, when we are so unfortunate as to take up arms again, as seems most likely. The League is put down by Henry IV., whose history is involved in that of the Jesuits. Of course they will play their part in the wars.

In England, the constant prosperity of the Protestants, and adversity of the Catholics, under Elizabeth, arrest attention. There is no innate ferocity
 Elizabeth. in Elizabeth, though she is the daughter of Henry VIII. The child of his best moments, perhaps, she exhibits the passion of love in its intensity ; and would live on the praise and affection of all her subjects : but her right to the throne is questioned by the Catholic party—a Spanish faction headed and “ stirred ” by the Jesuits. This faction endangers, threatens the life of the Queen. No method seems so advisable as persecution—horrible slaughter, embowelling, and quartering, to put down that faction. The age loves blood. The English sport with it ; and hundreds, with Jesuits to show them how to die, entertain the national propensity to see gibbet-work. Tortures the most hideous are devised—limbs are stretched till the tendons crack again—blood spurts from the ears and mouth—but the persecuted flinch not—though many of us would, perhaps, decline the ordeal—and remain firm to their religion, which is, in the nation’s opinion, one and the same with *treason*. England’s insular position saves her from a civil war. Spain’s armies would give Elizabeth and her able ministers infinite work, if Spain’s Philip could throw a few thousand of his troops on the plains of Albion. We shall find her policy in the history of the Jesuits.

Thus, fermentation is general over Europe. Wars are incessant—because states and principalities are being
 Recapitulation. formed as Transition advances. In Spain—the seeds of ruin : in Italy—a bone of everlasting contention : in Germany—politics and religion share it between them : in France begins, or rather continues, the

abuse of regal, aristocratical, and ecclesiastical power, destined to reach the climax with Louis XIV., and then after a stumbling and bungling reign, to produce the thunderbolt of the Revolution : in England, the foundation of a Protestant Constitution is laid, with a striking development of the national resources—as we shall behold in *every* country where the Protestant form of religion permits the human mind to work unfettered. I have alluded to the French Revolution. We shall note as we advance in this history, the steady progress to that terrible event which shook the universe. In perusing the history of the two centuries that precede the scourge, we shall find it difficult to believe that the religion of Christ was the religion of Europe. We shall behold portentous causes stirring the mass of humanity—upheaving the eventful history of two hundred years—years of “religious” and political abuses crying to indignant Heaven for retribution. From the atrocities of the “religious wars,” to the devoteeism of Louis XIV.’s last years, and their offspring, the philosophism of the two succeeding reigns—throughout the entire period we shall see in operation the most perfect worldliness stamped on the actions of the chief actors, united to a gorgeous display of hot-blooded zeal :—intellect, indeed, predominant, but scornful, owing to the hypocrisy, the inconsistency, which it will be incessantly compelled to detect, or suspect, in the promulgators of “religion.” In truth, we shall find the history of the Jesuits a key to that of the world during their lordly career.

Suffering, disaster, by human passions caused and promoted, have filled the preceding glance at the state of Europe during the sixteenth century—the world as the Jesuits find it—eager for something—gladly availing

itself of every arm consenting to work in its service. The Jesuits are capable of serving: they will have plenty to do. In the midst of atrocious crime, we find religion, or rather its name, on every lip. All men are devoted to their "religion." All are ready to fight and die for it. Its forms are venerated, deemed indispensable; its spirit is a matter of entangling distinctions and perversions. Its best verbal sentiments are uttered in the moments of triumphant guilt. The name of God seems to sanctify the lusts of the heart of man; for the spirit of pure religion has taken flight from earth, now a prey to political and religious ascendancies.

Meanwhile the arts and sciences receive an impulse in France, England, Germany, and Italy—an impulse destined to be strengthened and increased in every succeeding age. Poets, painters, sculptors, preachers, visionaries, astrologers, with chymists and alchymists, swell a lengthened list of honoured names for the sixteenth century. The heart and mind desire and plan objects of sensual gratification, and the rewards held forth by the great, by popes, and by kings, each in the circle of his own desires and interests, stimulate talent, give perseverance to genius. Shakespeare and his tragedies and comedies for the Virgin Queen, Ariosto and his wild and tempest poesy; Malherbe; Machiavel and his universal politics; Montaigne and his blessed toleration; the Scaligers and their book-fights; the Aldis and their printing-presses; Erasmus and his timid nothings; More and his "*Utopia*," destined, like "*Jesuit*," to designate what nobody can comprehend; St. Francis of Sales and his mild devotion; Paracelsus and St. Theresa with their visions and dreams; Ghirlandajo,

"Religious"
and political
ascendancies.

The arts,
sciences,
literature.

Raphael, with immortal paintings ; Palestrina and his heaven-reaching strains of devotional music—these and a thousand others wield the chisel, the pen, the pencil—and among them vigorously, boldly figure the JESUITS, who leave no *art* untried.

Spiritualists there are—*schoolmen*—men of knotty distinctions, unintelligible jargon, stamping wranglers with muddy demonstrations :—again, the *Dogmatists*, more reasonable, perhaps, teach-
The Spirit-
ualists.
ing from the Scriptures and the “Fathers”—and lastly the *Mystics*, seraphic swooners on the bosom of fleecy clouds—totally confined to the empyrean of dream-land—forgetful of body, whose wants are a constant dead weight and affliction.

In the midst of this crisis of mind and morals, Ignatius dies, bequeathing to the world, then possessed with unspeakable desire to see and know, his well-
The Jesuits.
trained, disciplined, and serried battalions—as
“millions of flaming swords drawn from the thighs of mighty cherubim.” Their sudden blaze far round illumines earth. Highly they rage against their appointed foe, determined HERESY,

————— and fierce with grasped arms
 Clash'd on their sounding shields the din of war,
 Hurling defiance toward the vault of Heaven.

What an opportunity is this for blessing mankind ! In their power to bless, the Jesuits will be omnipotent. The disorganised state of society ; the unsettled, bewildered minds of men ; their intellect keen and active, their passions strong and misguided—all crying for a helper—a saviour unto men in their “horrible pit,” their “miry clay.” Then will be the opportunity for “a new

song"—an opportunity like that chosen by God when Jesus appeared. For at that blessed advent were not men's minds bewildered by teachers, disgusted with the fooleries of paganism, surfeited and tired with unrighteousness? How sweetly may the new Order strive to heal, to cure the wounds of Humanity, now way-laid, plundered of her best treasures, and wounded, and left for dead in a "howling wilderness without water"! But alas! she becomes at once a *party*—first to serve others as a slave, then to work for herself as a grasping speculator. Old abuses, vile prerogatives—these she covers with her wings—these she defends with claw and nail, and talons. Kings in their pride—popes in their encroachments—*herself* in her ambition—these are successively her molten calves—and she falls down and worships them.

She finds men eager to learn—she gives them subtle controversy; teaches them how to wrangle for ever, seeking the discomfiture of the antagonist more than his conviction:—and then, dexterously changing her method with the circumstances, she works at soft persuasion—enlisting into the specious service every human art and all manner of trickery, which she herself denounces in theory by some of her members: whilst others sanctify craft, make deceit not unholy in doing her appointed work. Rather than fail in reclaiming the objects of her spiritual ambition, she will thus pervert herself, by resorting to unlawful means for her holy purposes. We shall see how these things come to pass in the scenes of her history.

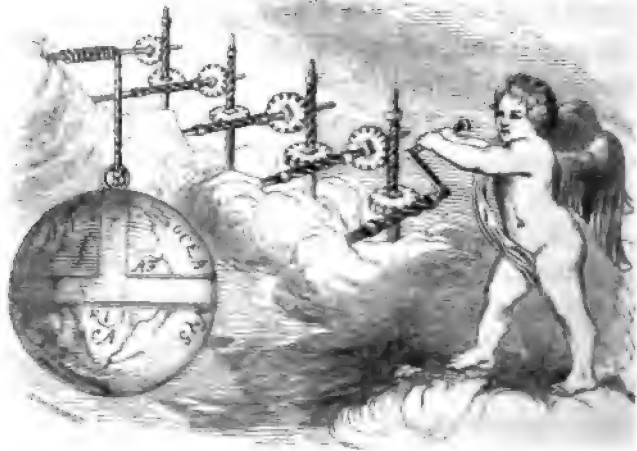
When mankind fix upon her the stigma of craft and cunning, she herself will be proud of her tact and address. All her members will thus be fashioned to a certain standard.

Outward circumstances will press them in a certain path. Ever suspected, from being once detected, nooks and corners will be her working-places. Results she will show : the means will be shrouded in darkness.

The selfishness of party will possess her as "legion," and she will multiply herself and her resources to confirm and hold and clutch with a grip inextricable that influence she will achieve on the minds and hearts of mankind—to the destruction of many—of countless thousands—all over the habitable world—body and soul together in undistinguishable ruin.

Oh ! had a prayer been offered at the moment of this Society's conception, and been heard where virtue is good destiny—that prayer would have enabled us now to say with exultation : The Society of Jesus confined herself to the domain of mind and religion, to make men happy here and hereafter : she benefited body and soul together : she kept aloof from the pitchy touch of kings and popes, with their grasping monopolies of power over all : she strove to regulate, and never flattered the passions of men by a seeming specious morality, which was but vice without the conviction of guilt : she did not rise in her pride to the desire of ruling by her invisible arm kings, countries, all mankind. It will not be thus. The hopes of popes and kings, which the Society of Jesus will raise in their absorbing domination ; the fears of the weak and ignorant, which she will know how to awaken ; the enjoyments of the great, to which she will administer ; their vices, at which she will systematically wink ; her vast educational scheme, which will dislodge all rivals and competitors ; her universal literature, which will expand her renown ; her world-encircling missions, which will give her gold—the groundwork of more extensive

operations ; the decided skill, and cleverness, and address of her men—proverbially learned—these qualifications will swell her pride and self-sufficiency until she bursts forth in the words of intolerable boasting—"Give me but a place to stand on, and I'll move the world."¹



THE ARCHIMEDEAN SCREW.

Observe in that figure her astonishing conception most admirably portrayed by the help of Archimedes. On the clouds of *popular opinion*—an airy nothing in itself—screw into screw endlessly cogged,—the universe belted and suspended,—and moved as she lists *invisibly*, as appears by the sturdy and brawny winged object for an angel, turning the handle. It will be thus when a General of the Society shall say to the Duke of Brancas, "See, my lord, from this room—from this room I govern not only Paris, but China : not only

¹ "Fac pedem figat et terram movebit."—*Imago Primi Seculi S. J.* p. 321.

China—but the whole world—without any one knowing how 'tis managed.”¹

Add to this, that her moral doctrines will be compared with those of the pagan philosophers, and the latter will be deemed more Christian :² that it will become an historical problem for Catholics, whether the Jesuits, or Luther and Calvin, have most injured Christian doctrine, and it will be solved to the disgrace of the former by a Catholic :³ and finally, that Doubt and Atheism will be sportively made popular by one of the Society's eccentric progeny.⁴

¹ “ Vede, Signor—di questa camera—di questa camera io governo non dico Parigi, ma la China ; non già la China, ma tutto il mondo, senza che nessuno sappia come si fa.”—*Abbrégé de l'Hist. Ecclési. de Racine*, xii. 77. Arnaud, xxxii. 78. (*Morale Pratique*).

² *Parallèle de la Doctrine des Payens avec celle des Jésuites*, 1726.

³ *Problème Historique*, qui, les Jésuites, ou Luther et Calvin, ont le plus nui à l'Eglise Chrétienne, par [Mesnier, Jansenist Catholic] 1737.

⁴ *L'Athéisme découvert par le Père Hardouin dans les écrits de tous les Pères de l'Eglise*, 1715.

BOOK II. OR, FABER.

MOST graciously was Ignatius of Loyola received by Pope Paul III. The reader remembers the interview.

The finger of God. It was probably one of Paul's fortunate days. Doubtless he had cast his horoscope. But astrology was not the only art that directed the pope's resolutions. He judged by palmistry as well. A panegyrist of Don Ignacio, when become *Saint Ignatius*, tells us that "after the pope had attentively considered the hands of Ignatius, he saw nothing else inscribed and engraved in them but the name of Jesus, and instantly exclaimed: "The finger of God is here! I find nothing in these hands but the fingers of God."¹

The pope was prepossessed in favour of the pilgrim. He had heard of him before. Ignatius had sent him

¹ "Postquam pontifex attentè considerasset manus Ignatii, nihil aliud eis inscriptum et inculptum vidit præter nomen Jesu, et statim dixit: *Digitus Dei hic est—nihil in istis manibus reperio præter digitos Dei.*"—*Valderrama*, in *Canon. Ignatii*, p. 48. See a curious tract on Palmistry, by Indagine, *Introd. in Chiromant., Physionom., &c.*, Lug. 1582.

The Jesuit historians, apparently not relishing the whole fact, have retained the exclamation, but dexterously omit the adjunct. They make the pope utter the words when he saw the *draft of the Constitutions of the Company*. Bartoli, l. ii. 43. Cretineau Joly, t. i. 43, &c. Valderrama, who gives the anecdote, was Prior of the Austin Friars in Seville. It occurs in his sermon preached by request of the Jesuits on the 31st July, 1610, when Ignatius was canonised. Of course the Jesuits supplied the "facts" for the laudation. See Bayle, *Dict.* vii. 196.

some of his companions to crave a benediction ; they were well received by Paul, who patronised "learned men," wherever he found them, with meritorious liberality.¹ Ignatius did not go with them, for fear of *Caraffa*, who suspected him, or whom he had offended at Venice by refusing to enrol himself and companions amongst the *Theatines*, founded by *Caraffa*.² Don Ignacio had his own idea to work out—his own gun to let off—it was primed : why should he let another fire it ? He has reached the joyful moment. The pope is pleased with him. Paul likes his hands, and doubtless his features, which I have described, after the Jesuits : "All signs of wisdom," says Bouhours, "according to the physiognomists ;"³ but the physiognomists add more than the Jesuit declares. They say : "Devotion on the lips, hardness in the soul, audacity and obstinacy,—such are the chief characteristics" [of a good likeness of Ignatius] : "with such eyes it is hard not to be a fanatic ; and in such a forehead a thousand projects incessantly succeed each other with rapidity. In fine, the mouth announces a mind of bigotry, or hypocrisy and intrigue, which will employ all means to gain an end. At this portrait, traced by Lavater himself, we recognise *Loyola* and his disciples."⁴ Be this as it may ; in the cry of reform, then ringing in his ears—for you remember the occasion—with the conviction that something must be done to satisfy the tyrant opinion which interfered with his political schemes—Paul III. accepted the services of Ignatius and his companions. Their terms were the most tempting in the world (in matters of religion)—their services would be

Ignatius and
his scheme.

¹ Bouhours, i. 246.

² Id. i. 234.

³ Id. ii. 228.

⁴ *Précis Analytique du Système de Lavater*, an excellent digest of Lavater's great work. See also Indagine, ubi suprà, in *Physionom.* c. vii.

gratuitous; they craved no filthy lucre. The Don's object was simply to work for salvation. As far back as 1534, three years before the interview, he had designed his society;¹ he had long before resolved to be a glorious founder, like St. Dominic and St. Francis;² he has not imparted his "holy ambition" even to his companions,³ much less, then, will he scare the pope with a design likely at once to take him aback, at a time when there were cries on all sides against existing orders of monks—useless drones and licentious hypocrites.⁴ He must establish claims before he can demand possession. This he has resolved, and all that he imparts to the pope are the following offers in his own name and that of his companions:—1. That they will lodge at the hospitals, and will live on alms only. 2. That those who might be together will be superiors by turns, each a week, for fear lest their fervour should carry them too far, if they do not set bounds one to the other in the matter of penances and labour. 3. That they will preach in the public places, where permitted; that in their preaching they will hold forth the beauty and rewards of virtue, the deformity and penalties of vice, but in a manner conformable to the simplicity of the Gospel, and without the vain ornaments of eloquence. 4. That they will teach children the Christian doctrine

¹ Bartoli, l. ii. 109.

² Maffei, l. i. 8. "Quid si præclarum hoc S. Dominici facinus, quid si hoc S. Francisci, Deo fretus aggrediar!"

³ It was not till the year after that he imparted to his companions "l'affaire importante qu'il méditait." We shall hear the words ascribed to him on that occasion. See Bouhours, i. 256.

⁴ "I labour very unwillingly in the matter of the monks," wrote Bembo in 1530, "to find under many faces all human rascality covered with diabolical hypocrisy." "Io mi travaglio molto malvolentieri in case di frati per trovarvi sotto molte volte tutte le umane sceleratezze coperte di diabolica ipocrizia."—*Apud Botta*, i. 26.

and the principles of good morals. 5. That they will take no money for their functions ; and that, in serving their neighbour, they will purely seek God only.¹ Manifestly offers identical with the duties of Caraffa's *Theatines*, an institute soon obsolete and forgotten, and so would have been the Ignatians had they confined themselves to those simple avocations. With his usual sagacity, Paul III. saw at once the metal of his man. At all events, there could be little risk in giving him a trial. Such workers as the men before him promised to be, were decidedly wanted to make Rome "lead a Christian life for the future." Time and the stars would direct his final resolution. Meanwhile, we will inquire more deeply into the fortunes of Ignatius, "a great and portentous man, honest withal," as honest George Borrow, of "The Bible in Spain" notoriety, terms the founder of the Jesuits.² Some account of Don Ignacio

¹ Bouhours, iii. 245.

² Mr. Borrow's most interesting book, as above, produces very queer notions as we advance with him in his biblical frolics. How the Bible Society enjoyed his opinions on several occasions is a matter of curious conjecture. His politics seem to have warped his judgment, and given him all the knowledge he required for its foundation. What did the Bible Society think of this opinion ! "I believe the body of which he (Ignatius) was the founder, and which has been so much decried, has effected infinitely more good than it has caused harm." "What do I hear !" asks the *Catholic* Rector ; "you an Englishman, and a Protestant, and yet an admirer of Ignatius Loyola !" "Myself," writes the Man of the Bible, "I will say nothing with respect to the *doctrine* of the Jesuits"—[the deuce you won't !] "for, as you have observed, I am a Protestant : but I am ready to assert that there are no people in the world better qualified, upon the whole, to be intrusted with the education of youth. Their moral system and discipline are truly admirable. Their pupils, in after-life, are seldom vicious and licentious characters, and are in general men of learning, science, and possessed of every elegant accomplishment." Then follows the apparent inspiration of his historical judgment. "I execrate," says he, "the conduct of the *liberals* of Madrid in murdering last year the helpless fathers by whose care and instructions two of the finest minds of Spain have been evolved—the two ornaments of the liberal cause and modern literature of Spain, for such are Toreno and Martinez de la Rosa," p. 27. That's the Bible-agent's opinion—and nothing can

de Loyola or Guipuscoa, is necessary as a key to the history of the Jesuits ; but a few remarks must precede the narration.

It is said that there have been thirty Lives of Ignatius. Many are before me. I have read all I could find.

The biographers of Ignatius.

The groundwork of all is Jesuit matter. To Jesuit books all refer. His Life is thus chiefly an *ex-parte* production. Gonzalvo, the saint's confessor, Ribadeneyra, his daily companion, Maffeus, an early Jesuit, Bartoli, another Jesuit, and, lastly, Bouhours, also a Jesuit, have, with Pinius, the Bollandist,¹ furnished the groundwork to all other biographers

be more satisfactory—to the Jesuits, if not to his employers. Throughout the perusal of his book I constantly fancied the wry faces pulled by the masters at the strange freaks and opinions of the servant. It is all very well to say "The cause of England's freedom and prosperity is the Bible, and that only, as the last persecutor of this book, the bloody and infamous Mary, was the last (!) tyrant who sat on the throne of England," p. 17. It's all very well to oil the wheels in this fashion, but the following must have been granite-grit to the fund-holders. "Of all the curiosities of this college (Valladolid) the most remarkable is the picture-gallery, which contains neither more nor less than the portraits of a variety of scholars of this house, who eventually suffered martyrdom in England, in the exercise of their vocation in the angry times of the Sixth Edward and fierce Elizabeth," p. 125. Never did I read a book suggesting so forcibly the reality of a Protestant Jesuit in its author. Read the most comical account of his conversation with the superiors of the English Catholic college at Lisbon (c. v.) only instead of *stars* or *asterisks* put *Catholics* or *clergy* respectively—and don't be afraid of the agent's employers, as the writer seems to have been—they will not scratch you, if you have turned down the page where he says : "This is one of the relics of the monkish system, the aim of which, in all countries where it has existed, seems to have been to besot the minds of the people, that they might be more easily misled," p. 18. Invariably are his opinions contradictory and most inconsistent—and sometimes hideously bigoted and uncharitable—and yet "the name of the Lord Jesus" is always on his lips. Was it in that name that he uttered the following atrocity respecting the late pope, who, in truth, was "honest withal !" "I said repeatedly that the pope, whom they revered, was an arch-deceiver, and the head-minister of Satan here on earth," p. 15. Finally, if he knew the meaning of the Spanish word *carajo*, he ought not to have written it in a book where he talks of "Jesus"—and prominently, too. That adorable name always seems out of place in "The Bible in Spain." *Jesuit* would sound and be better there.

¹ A name given to the compilers of saints' lives.

of Ignatius. All his Jesuit Lives vary in their facts with the age in which they were produced.¹ We do not find in Maffeus the strange and wonderful assertions of Ribadeneyra. Bouhours has used the broad end of his stylus with the graceful, the flaming, but somewhat intense Italian Bartoli; even Bouhours has been made to drop something in a late Life of Ignatius, published in Ireland. This Jesuit method of change suggests the necessity for caution in giving belief to Jesuit productions, where they are themselves concerned, or their enemies are roughly handled. Truth is not a thing to be adapted to times, and places, and circumstances. Truth is always respectable. Times cannot change it, nor make it ridiculous. Yet such must be the case with regard to Jesuit omissions in the more modern Lives of Ignatius. This fact, therefore, renders imperative some little critical examination in the entertaining inquiry. Further :

It requires some knowledge of the Catholic system of saintship and legendary marvels, in order to form a correct judgment on the historical value of saint-biography. Every Catholic has, or should Catholic
saintship. have, a particular veneration for the saint whose name he bears. In some countries, it is the saint's day, not the birth-day, which is celebrated. The "Life" of his saint, at least, should be familiar to him. He can find it in the various Saints' Lives written for the edification of the faithful. If Alban Butler's erudite and almost universal biography of saints—for every day in the year—be not racy enough, he can turn to the Jesuit Ribadeneyra's *Flowers of the Lives of the Saints*, wherein

¹ Ribadeneyra died in 1611, Maffeus in 1603, Bartoli in 1680, Bouhours in 1704.

he will find, according to the necessary admission of a modern Jesuit, "an infinity of doubtful, false, and sometimes revolting matters."¹ To the Catholic such books are given. They are to him what the Bible is to the Protestant. They form what is called his "spiritual reading," or reading for the good of his soul. If any "conversion" from an evil life has been effected by reading, it is always some such book which has the grace-like power to influence the workings of the inner man, casting off the slough of the old Adam. Thirdly :

Most, if not all, of the founders of religious orders are saints of the calendar. Their miracles on earth and their glories in heaven become the grateful, or boastful, and certainly endless theme of their followers ; so that the very fact of being founder of an order seems to have necessitated his canonisation, as though it was evident that he had taken possession of one of the heavenly mansions, to be exclusively appropriated to succeeding militants, marching into heaven with *his* banner unfurled. The celebrated Father Andrew Boulanger, of humorous memory, parabled this idea for the edification of the Jesuits whilst on the summit of their glory. The Jesuits requested Father Andrew to preach a sermon to the confraternity on the festival of St. Ignatius. The orthodox father (he was a "reformed Augustinian") had his notion about the Jesuits, like many others at the time, and resolved to hit them on the knuckles. He imagined a dialogue between the Almighty and St. Ignatius,

The founders
of religious
orders.

¹ " Il y adopte sans discernement une infinité de choses douteuses, fausses, et quelquefois révoltantes."—*Feller, Biog. Univ.* xvii. The book has been largely translated : there are many French versions, and one in English, by W. P [etre], Esq., in fol., 1730.

whom he represented in the act of demanding a place for his Order. "I know not where to put you," was the reply. "The deserts are inhabited by St. Benedict and St. Bruno : St. Bernard occupies the valleys : St. Francis has the little towns—where can we place you ?" "Oh," exclaimed Ignatius, "only put us where there's a place to be *taken*—in the *great cities*, for instance,—*and leave us to do the rest.*"¹

The Jesuit biographies of their founder and other saints of their order are some of the methods whereby the Jesuits "do the rest." The influence of the Jesuits on a certain portion of mankind is largely to be attributed to their multitudinous writings : their biographies have gently "*moved*" many a novice into the novitiate. One of the witnesses examined before the House of Lords, in 1826, answered for himself on this point. When questioned as to "any circumstance that may have led to that desire on his part," he replied :—

"I think I can attribute it chiefly to reading the lives of the great saints in our Church, whom that society produced, and to the admiration for their virtues, which it seemed to me the nature of that society must have produced in these and other men."

"What were the books in which you read these lives?"

"The *ordinary books* that are open to every person—the English Lives of St. Francis Xavier, and some other saints."²

¹ Tallem. Historiettes, t. vi. Predicatoriana, p. 219. There is an old distich which says :

"Bernardus valles, colles Benedictus amabat,
Oppida Franciscus, magnas Ignatius urbes."

² Evidence taken before the Select Committees. Exam. of "Mr. W. Rogers," a quondam student at the Jesuit seminary of Clongowes, Nov. 13th, 1826.

All these biographies of the Jesuits are strikingly adapted to the times in which they appeared—not only in style, but in matter. They are all written for effect; and, like all the attempts of the Jesuits, have not fallen short of their aim. *Ribadeneyra* with his “extraordinary things,” and *Nieremberg* with his boiling extravagance, were just the writers for the Spaniards. *Maffeus*, the elaborate imitator of Cicero and Livy, endeavoured to produce a new classic for youth, with the additional recommendation of having a Jesuit-Christian saint for its hero. *Bartoli* is elegant and entertaining, and ever anxious to show the world’s obligations to Ignatius and his followers, at a time when the society was an object of jealousy and envy on account of her wealth and power and successful operations—and not without blame. *Bouhours* pruned the luxuriant vine of legendary lore—was devout without strong piety, and produced the present standard Life of Ignatius for our entertainment as well as that of the courtiers of Louis XIV.,—when the formalities of devotion dispensed with piety to God.

Out of all these biographies and other Jesuit sources—not omitting the famous IMAGO, or Image of the First Century of the Society of Jesus,¹ I shall proceed to sketch the history of the renowned *Don Ignacio Loyola*

¹ This extraordinary production was published to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the society’s foundation. It is crammed with admirably designed, and well executed engravings—vigorous, and as startling as the accompanying dissertations, which are a splendid sample of intellect gone mad, and rioting in spiritual drunkenness. It will be more particularly described in its proper place. At present, suffice it to say, that “the Jesuits, in order to attract others, present a pompous idea of their Society, and endeavour to excite a high notion of its Institute: they represent its formation as dictated by God, in miraculous revelations, and declare its plan, rules, and privileges to have been inspired by Him, and by the Blessed Virgin; in order that all who might join the Society should know that it was not so much to the laws of Ignatius that they were invited to submit, as to laws of a divine and sacred origin.”

de Guipuscoa—a founder, a saint, and spiritual Quixote of the sixteenth century.

A biographer informs us that Ignatius always acted as though he had had no father, no mother, no genealogy:¹ his followers inherited the same exemption. All have been spiritual Melchisedecs in theory; they have lived only for their spiritual work in hand, or for themselves alone: but to the *parentage* of their heroes they have always given honour due,—for a splendid example is better than a thousand dissertations on the contempt of the world, its pomps and vanities, in striving to “move” the rich, the great, the learned, into the society. Don Ignacio was the last son of eleven children—the eighth and last male scion of the house of Loyola: his father was Don Bertram, hidalgo of Ognez and Loyola, a house, castle, or fortress, in Guipuscoa, a province of Biscay, in the mighty kingdom of Spain.² In this castle Ignatius was born, in the year 1491, in the reign of Ferdinand, the last representative

¹ Ribad. lib. v. c. 5.

² Besides noblemen by descent, there were also in Spain others of curious tenure. There was the *hidalgo de bragueta*, a denomination, very expressive in the original, given to him who had seven sons without a daughter intervening. Then there was the *hidalgo de gotera*, one who enjoyed the rights of nobility in one place or town only. Lastly, the *hidalgoejo*, *hidalguete*, *hidalguillo*, petty country squires, poor gentlemen all. It is impossible to say to which denomination the hidalgo of Loyola belonged; but his mundane titles may be conceded in the blaze of his celestial glories. Pasquier, the great opponent of the Jesuits, calls him “Gentilhomme Navarrein de bonne part,” after Ribadeneyra. It is curious, however, that as early as 1629 his nobility was denied. In the *Speculum Jesuiticum* (Jesuit Looking-glass), Ignatius is called “a man of obscure parentage, born at a place called Aspeytheia,” and in the *Pyrotechnica Loyolana* (Loyolan Fire-works), published in 1667, he is said to have been “born of mean parentage.” The house where he was born was afterwards called *Santa Casa*, and given to the Jesuits in 1682 to found a college near it, as the condition of the grant by the Queen Dowager of Spain stipulated that the old castle was not to be destroyed. The church of Aspeytheia, where Ignatius was baptised, was long afterwards frequented as a shrine by pregnant women,

of ancient "chivalry," and the first model of modern despotism and ruthless bigotry—hence immortalised in history by the surname of "The Catholic." His mother, in honour of the Virgin Mary's delivery, gave him birth in a stable. Some contention happening to arise among his relations concerning the name which should be given him, this extraordinary infant, to the astonishment of all present, cried out, "*Ignatius* is my name;" and so he was accordingly named.¹ Such is said to have been the origin of a name which he was destined to render immortal.

But sad beginnings preceded this fulfilment. His

and by mothers to have their children christened and named after Ignatius. The Jesuits made it an object of veneration to all their devotees. If my informant be correct (a gentleman who accompanied the Spanish Legion), the ruins of the old castle are still extant, and pointed out to the traveller. The above facts show how soon the Jesuits fostered the holy name of Ignatius into the honours of semi-divinity, and gained possession of the popular heart by the miraculous powers of their sainted founder. See Bayle, Dict. vii. 196, U. See also Bartoli for a flaming account of the veneration in which the *Torre di Loyola* was held in Spain, and "the fruit of souls" that was reaped thereabout. L. i. 8.

¹ "Dudandose quando bautizavan a San Ignacio, como le llamaran, el mismo niño se puso nombre: con el qual se significa el officio que avia de hazer en la Iglesia."—*Nieremb. c. i.* On this the *Pyrotechnica Loyolana*, by a "Catholic Christian," observes as follows: "A brother of the society hath a pretty fiction (wherein they have a knack of outdoing all the poets), that while the name was in dispute, the infant himself (a prodigious baby) said he would be called Ignatius, the genuine signification of which is an incendiary [*ignis*, fire], one that casts about wild-fire—*conveniunt rebus nomina scpe suis*." This book is a very curious old diatribe against the Jesuits. It is furnished with a formidable frontispiece, representing the Jesuits involving the universal world in conflagration, whilst the pope sits on the right, bellows in hand, from the pipe of which issue the words:

"Di scilicet inferi! cœptis asperate meis!"

"Infernal gods! give to my enterprize

A favouring gale!"

The plate deserves a minute description: it comprises the whole history of the Jesuits, at least as presented to the mind of a "good hater" and "Catholic Christian."

early life was spent in dissipation, the probable result of the profanity which he imbibed under the paternal roof.¹ There is a prurient desire in the human heart to hear scandal. Many love to hear it His early career. because it seems to excuse their own delinquencies. There are cases in which, to a certain extent, it is historically necessary to enlarge in the matter; but in all cases it is read with great attention. In the biographies of the great, the narrative of private scandal is, perhaps, the most generally interesting. Unable to rise to what is eminent in virtue or talent, or unwilling to make the effort, men, in general, cling to what is lowest in vice, when it seems to be palliated by splendid talent, success in life, and historical renown. Biographers have been eager to satisfy this depravity of taste. The greatest minds have been made to excite the greatest disgust and contempt for human nature, despair of its final improvement, and a clinging doubt in the reality of human virtue. But not with this prurient object—not with this result, have the biographers of Ignatius signalised his early misdoings—more, however, by plain insinuation than by details. They seem to say: There is hope in the excesses of youth since an Ignatius died a saint. Ye who listen with delectation to the syren of pleasure,—who would nevertheless discard her for the owl of austerity, but are scared at the sight of your transgressions—despair not—listen to the tale of Ignatius, the worldling, the anchoret, the founder of the Jesuits, and now a saint appointed for universal veneration.

¹ "Ac de primâ ipsius pueritiâ id unum constat, haud ita severâ disciplinâ educatum à suis fuisse; atque ab ipsis incunabulis, ut in opulentâ domo, profanos admodum hausisse spiritus."—*Maff.* l. i. c. l.

Don Bertram had patronage at the court of Ferdinand : thither he hurried the young Ignatius at an early age, and scarcely in possession of the first elements of knowledge.¹ The youthful page soon became ambitious to excel in all the arts of the courtier, to whose morals he conformed, and chose the profession of arms. Henceforward the point of honour, and the love of woman, gave perilous occupation to his active mind and body.² His character at this period is thus described by his disciples. He was not so exact in his religious duties as in the discipline of war. The bad habits which he had contracted at court were strengthened amidst the license of arms ; and the labours of his profession were made compatible with the pursuits of love and pleasure. Perhaps there never was cavalier at one and the same time more inured to fatigue, more polished, and attentive to the fair sex. But, however worldly in his pursuits, Ignatius had certain principles of religion and probity. He was careful to observe decorum even in his excesses. He was never heard to utter a word calculated to offend piety or modesty ; he paid due respect to the holy places and the ministers of religion. Very sensitive on the point of honour, and impelled by his natural pride to demand satisfaction for the slightest insult ; still he pardoned all, and was appeased as soon as reparation was offered. His peculiar talent was shown in reconciling the quarrels of the soldiers, and in stifling popular commotions : on more than one occasion he disarmed, by a single word, two parties on the point of settling the matter by mortal

¹ " *Literis vix dùm à limine salutatis,*" says the pompous Maffeus. Lib. i.

² " *Id (temporis) ille . . . partim in factionum rixarumque periculis, partim in amatoriâ vesaniâ, et ceterâ sæculi vanitate consumeret.*"—*Id.* ib.

combat. He despised riches habitually, and proved his disinterestedness on one occasion by declining to share the booty of a captured town. He had tact in the management of affairs ; young as he was, he knew how to influence the minds of men, and improve an opportunity. He hated gaming, but loved poetry ; and, without the slightest tincture of learning, he composed very good verse in Spanish : curious enough, his subjects were sometimes pious—as, for instance, a poem in the Praise of St. Peter, the first pope of Rome, as Catholics believe.¹

Such is the first aspect in which Ignatius is presented to us by his disciples. It is the model of an officer, such as Escobar, the renowned Jesuit-casuiſt, might easily absolve, and such as would have His enthusiasm. been prized in the court of Louis XIV., with the Jesuit Lachaise and Madame de Maintenon for his patrons. Thus lived Ignatius to his twenty-ninth year—a semi-religious worldling, according to his biographers—mingling thoughts of revenge and love with the sentiments requisite for the construction of pious verse ; reconciling the “ false maxims of the world ” in practice with his theoretical “ respect for the holy places and the ministers of religion.” He must be converted. On that event depends his immortality. His burning desire for fame² must be turned into the ambition of the saints. A model of strict military discipline and valour on every occasion, whether as a soldier or commander, his love for the profession of his choice³ evinces that enthusiasm

¹ Bouhours, liv. i. Bouhours wrote in “ the age of Louis XIV.,” and his book is dedicated to the Queen.

² “ Ardenti laudis humane studio . . . abreptus.”—*Mat.* lib. i.

³ “ Il passa par tous les degrés de la milice, fit paraître en toute occasion beaucoup de valeur, et fut toujours très attaché au service, soit qu’il obéît, ou qu’il commandât.”—*Bouhours*, liv. i.

which gives energy to the mind and heart in every and any pursuit, when a real or fancied reward in store lends a motive to every step in the onward march. Enthusiasm was the ground-work of his character ; enthusiasm, that consciousness of extraordinary power, with a will commensurate, to produce extraordinary results. Such a character is generally, if not always, tinged with the roseate hue of religion : all the passions with which it is allied—often the strongest—keep alive and agitate this religious tendency of enthusiasm, by their speedy satiety in transient gratification, leaving for ever void the desire of perfection in all things, which is a characteristic element of enthusiasm. With Ignatius enthusiasm seems to have been hereditary : his mother would give him birth in a *stable*, thus to honour the “ Queen of Heaven !” and in the midst of his worldly pursuits, Ignatius celebrated in verse the “ Prince of the Apostles,” as if even then convinced that only *spiritual* power and renown were perfect, and therefore more deserving his heart’s desire than the glory of arms, or the love of woman.

The last military achievement of Ignatius strikingly displays the leading features of his character. In the year 1521, Francis I., King of France, sent Pampeluna. a large army into Navarre, under the command of Andrew de Foix. The province of Guipuscoa was ravaged ; the invading forces laid siege to Pampeluna, the capital of Navarre.¹ A Spanish officer in the garrison endeavoured in vain to inspire the troops with valour to resist the invaders—they would capitulate. The panic spread : the officer left these cowards, and retired into the citadel, attended by a single soldier.

¹ See Robertson, Charles V. vol. ii. b. ii. ; Ranken, Hist. of France, vol. v. p. 209.

A parley in the citadel was offered and accepted eagerly by that officer,—determined to “improve the opportunity.” The severe terms of surrender were proposed—the base compromise was about to be made, when he seized the moment, and launched into furious invectives against the French. The conference broke up. “To arms!” resounded on all sides. Look to yon fortress! Sword in hand, the warrior leads his band (now forced to fight) to the gaping breach. Hand to hand, foot to foot, the struggle is for victory or death! But fortune or Providence decides the day; the hero of the fight falls desperately wounded. The hero of the fight is—IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA.¹ The splinter of a stone struck his left leg, and a cannon ball broke his right. His troop surrendered at discretion, and the victors, in admiration of his courage, bore Ignatius to the quarters of their general, where he received every attention so justly due to the hero. As soon as he could be removed with safety, he was carried to the castle of Loyola, at a short distance from Pampeluna. His surgeons were now persuaded that it was necessary to break the bones anew, in order to replace them into their natural position, having been badly set, or jolted out of place by the movement of the journey. Ignatius submitted to the operation without a groan. The result was nearly fatal. A violent fever ensued: he was given over by his medical attendants.

Resigned to his fate the warrior slept; and in his sleep, according to the legend, beheld St. Peter who cured him with his own hand. “The event,”
St. Peter cures him.
 says the Jesuit, “showed that this dream had nothing false in it: when he awoke he was found to be

¹ Bouhours, and all the biographers triumphantly.

out of danger,—his pains ceased, his strength returned.”¹ The Jesuits venture two conjectures in explanation of this miraculous interposition. “God wished,” say they, “that St. *Peter* should cure him, either because Ignatius had, from his youth upwards, honoured the Prince of the Apostles ; or, because the Prince of the Apostles interested himself somewhat in the recovery of a man destined by Heaven to maintain against heretics the authority of the Holy See.” Decidedly a very plausible explanation. It reminds us of a certain worthy—a staunch Protestant by the way—who being somewhat “fixed” by his acknowledged inability to explain the meaning of *the Lion and the Unicorn* in the arms of England, said to the inquisitive Spaniard : “Suppose I were to tell you that they represent the Lion of Bethlehem and the horned monster of the flaming pit in combat, as to which should obtain the mastery in England, what would you say ?” He replied : “I should say that you gave a fair answer.” A little invention is a great talisman in Jesuits of every denomination and profession.²

The Jesuit’s explanation is intended to show the utility of saint-worship in general, and the worship of the great saints in particular. Besides, it points at once to the origin of the *Society*, which was, apparently, designed in heaven with the knowledge and concurrence of St. Peter, the first pope of Rome. Nothing can be plainer. It is evident to demonstration—not so the conversion of Ignatius, however. The miraculous recovery left him ungratefully unconverted. He still clung to the pomps

His vanity
and tender
passion.

¹ Bouhours.

² The interpreter of England’s Arms is Mr. *Borrow*, of “The Bible in Spain,” p. 15.

and vanities of this despicable world ;—for, finding that the bone of his leg protruded after the miracle, and marred the elegance of his boot—*empêchait le cavalier de porter la botte bien tirée*—the gallant cavalier, ever attentive to dress and fashionable grace,¹ determined to resort to the excruciating bone-nipper for that perfection of form which the apostle of his dream had not deemed requisite. He had the deformity cut away without uttering a word—without changing countenance. Nor was this all :—he had the limb stretched for several days by a machine of iron. The operation failed ; Ignatius was doomed to remain a cripple for life. This conviction must have been excessively annoying to a mind constituted as that of Ignatius has been described, and attested by his conduct on this occasion. What efforts to restore his external grace and attractions ! To whom were they so indispensable as to gallant cavaliers of these gallant times, when beauty and grace were essential in the adventurer who strove to be even as the Cid, or Amadis of Gaul, the idols of the national heart. Was there not one whose image filled the soul of the prostrate cavalier ? There was—and something worthy withal. “She was not a countess nor a duchess ; but her estate was higher than any of these.”² And now, away with pious aspirations—the thought of his lady-love clings to his heart. He meditates some military exploit to render himself worthy of her smiles ; for he could not believe it possible to live without some great ambition, nor be happy without some absorbing passion.³ But when he glanced at his

¹ “Cum esset corporis ornatu elegantissimus.”—*Maff.*

² “Non era condessa, ni duquesa ; mas era su estado mas alto que ninguna de estas.” His own words, given in *Act. Sanct.* apud Ranke, b. ii.

³ Bouhours, liv. i.

leg—his leg doomed to limp—what a pang of despair shot freezingly through him !

“ In the midst of such peril, all methods I try
To escape from my fate, I weep, laugh and sigh.”¹

And shrugging his shoulders he submitted to his fate—

“ I have not, I care not, nor hope for relief.”²

Still confined to his bed, he asked for a book to while away the tedious hours. He wanted a romance—some work of chivalry. There was none at hand. They brought him the *Life of Christ* and the *Lives of the Saints* instead. The latter, very naturally, fixed his attention, so full of adventure, strange and windmill achievements. He read, and pondered as he read, and then his musing struck off a bright idea. “ What if *I* were to do what St. Francis did ? what St. Dominic achieved ? ”³

Generous notions these, but nipped in the bud by those thoughts of the woman, for Ignatius was a lover : his Dulcinea was one of Castile’s highest and fairest damsels. St. Benedict, the founder of the Benedictines, had been in a similar dilemma, ’twixt love and conversion. Benedict rolled himself on some briars and nettles, till his body was covered with blood, and his heart divested of love ;⁴ not so Ignatius,—he continued to read the *Lives of the Saints*, which was more rational. The result was satisfactory ;

¹ “ Pues tantos peligros me tienen en medio
Que llore, que ria, que grite, que calle.”

² “ Ni tango, ni quiero, ni espero remedio ! ”

Alonso of Cartagena, apud Sismondi, ii. 165.

³ “ Quid si ego hoc agerem quod fecit beatus Franciscus,” &c.—*In Act. Sanct. Maff.* l. i. c. 2.

⁴ *Butl. Saints’ Lives*, iii. *St. Ben.*

he jumped to his conversion ; for thus only can we qualify the effect, considering the cause. His conclusion was that " God alone could satisfy the human heart, and that he should renounce all things to secure salvation." *How* he came to this conclusion we cannot discover in the premises :—but his biographers give a page or two detailing the process of his conversion. Its results are more interesting, and assuredly more authentic. The process of conversions is very commonplace, always alike ; certainly nicely managed, though not always consistent with the character and condition of the patient. The result is all that is necessary : the formalities are like ready-made garments : they answer the purpose—after a fashion. The result, in the present instance, was, that Ignatius resolved to copy the awful saints of the Church, his imagination being heated by the terrible austerities wherewith they fought against the world, the flesh, and the devil. By these legends he was convinced, as we are expressly told, " that all the perfection of Christianity was comprised in the maceration of the flesh."¹ Not by any means after the manner of Hopeful's conversion,² was that of Ignatius. His conversion was a wedge driving out a wedge—and remaining a wedge notwithstanding. It was only another sort of ambition which got possession of his mind, in his altered condition : in the paths of this new ambition he might limp, and yet reach the goal joyfully at last. Whatever were his inmost convictions, results proved that he was determined to attempt the *nimis alta*, the impossible things, the windmill adventures of spiritual ambition. It is futile to ascribe to Ignatius more than the vaguest notions of spirituality.

¹ Bonhours.² Pilgrim's Progress.

These are sufficient to account for his immediate resolution. He will grow wiser ; perhaps, more sober, by experience, and a little knowledge of the craft. His present resolves are suggested by his reading, and the superstitions of the age, to his enthusiastic ambition : hazy notions all, without sunlight, but right-well conducive to his purpose : he will soon do enough to constitute him a man of authority in the estimation of credulous disciples, and then he will assuredly “do what St. Benedict did, what St. Dominic achieved :” that is, *found an Order of Monks*,—this being his starting idea, as his own words so strikingly declare. This ambitious hope made his “conversion” necessary, and he was “converted.” We shall presently behold the *probable* process.

Life is a chain of incidents. Each event holds to its predecessor. We march on unconscious of causes—
Ignatius and Luther. looking merely to effects, and their endless ramifications. All of us look *forward* ; we leave the past, and stretch beyond into the future—even the old in years and experience gamble with life, trusting to “chance”—that impossible thing—for a blessing and success. Ignatius knew not what he had to endure, ere he should reach the goal :—but his resolution was taken. His first idea was to set off on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, clothed in a sack, fasting on bread and water, lying on the hard ground, seeking for his transient dwelling some frightful solitude¹—“a darksome place.” This was in the year 1521, when Luther was enjoying his delightful Patmos in the castle of Wartburg, protected and solaced (after the Diet of Worms) by the Duke Frederick,—basking in the bright

¹ Bouhours.

sun of day which visited him by times at morn, and listening to the song of the nightingale perched on his window, greeting him as a friend, or soothing his heart with the sound of his flute, so cheering in his unrest—as constantly his companion as the Bible, which he was then translating into German.¹ So far the Catholic Audin ; but it was also from this spot, in a series of mournful but eloquent letters to various persons, that he unfolded the sad thoughts which came over him in his solitude—*eremo meo*, as he writes,—“his region of the air”—“the region of birds,” or “from amidst birds which sing sweetly on the branches of the tall trees, and praise God night and day with all their might,” or “from the mountain,” and “from the isle of Patmos ;” and yet shaking anon his terrible mane, and with a roar that could find an echo in the thousand hills of Fatherland, crying to the spirits that seemed asleep in the day of labour : “What art thou doing now, my Philip ?” he writes to Melancthon. “Prayest thou for me ? As to myself, I sit gloomy all the day long. I place before my eyes the figure of the church, and I see these words of Psalm lxxxix. : *Wherefore hast thou made all men in vain ?* Oh God ! how horrible a form of the anger of God is this abominable rule of the antichrist of Rome ! I hate the hardness of my heart, which does not dissolve in torrents of tears, bewailing the children of my slaughtered people. There is not one among them who rises up, who puts himself in the front for God’s sake,

¹ See Audin, *Hist. de Luther*, c. xiv. for an interesting description of Luther’s sojourn at Wartburg. Also D’Aubigné, *Hist. of the Ref.* ii. 277 ; Mosheim, *Hist.* ii. 27, and Hazlitt, *Life of Luther*, p. 100, *et seq.* This is perhaps the most interesting account of all. Mr. Hazlitt deserves great praise for this book. It is immeasurably superior to Michelet’s affair. See also Cox’s *Life of Melancthon*, p. 152, *et seq.*

who makes of himself a rampart for the house of Israel in this day of desolation and anger. O reign of the pope, filth of ages ! God have mercy upon us."

To the future anxiously looked Luther in his Patmos : to the past musingly gazed Ignatius in his solitude,

with the Flowers of the Saints around him.
Ignatius and
the great
saints of the
church. Ignatius admired in these saints-errant that
 absolute dependance on providence which

made them wander from one end of the world to the other without any provisions. With astonishment he contemplated the holy denizens of solitude ; and especially the anchorets of Palestine and Egypt ; men of quality covered with rough haircloths, their precious rings and ornaments of gold discarded for heavy chains of iron ; their pampered bodies macerated with fasting ; their eyes by beauty fascinated, and by sleep delightfully refreshed, now weary with excess of watching, and by tears bitterly scalded ; habituated to lordly halls, with pomp and merriment, now buried alive in frightful deserts, horrible caverns, whither roaring throned their natural indwellers —savage beasts dislodged by the men of penance ! "These men," said Ignatius, "who have treated their innocent flesh with much barbarity, have they any other nature than I have ? Why then do I not what they have done ?" The thought of his Dulcinea had withheld his answer to the stirring appeal. It had diverted his musings from the saints-errant to the knights-errant of chivalrous renown. But the sun of chivalry was set in the clouds of gunpowder. War was no longer a pastime. Battle was no longer a joke. The fun of the thing was gone for ever. Back, therefore, from knight-errantry to saint-errantry the broken-down warrior recoils. From embattled paladins to canonised

saints he turned analogically musing. "Those," said he, "have indeed protected the oppressed, defended the honour of ladies, overcome enchantments, put armies to the rout, dissipated fleets, cleft down giants, saved empires, conquered kingdoms ; but the saints have given sight to the blind, speech to the dumb, hearing to the deaf, and health to the sick ; they have restored the lame, cured lepers, reanimated the dead limbs of paralytics, tamed monsters, killed dragons, serpents, crocodiles ; traversed, like wild beasts, vast plains of air ; passed on foot through the waves of the sea ; made springs arise amidst the barren earth, given sweetness to bitter waters, walked through devouring flames untouched ; eat poisoned meats and drank poisoned drinks without injury ; foretold the future, read hearts, raised the dead, cast out devils, triumphed over hell, and conquered heaven.¹ Glory," added he, "for which I have a passion so ardent, was the end which both the one and the other of these heroes proposed to themselves. For glory they have undertaken such difficult adventures, borne so many fatigues, encountered so many dangers, braved hunger, thirst, and the inclemencies of the weather, hated their own flesh, despised life, and defied death. But what have these paladins gained as the reward of all their glorious labours, so boasted of in the annals of chivalry ? Empty glory, which they enjoyed but a moment ! Glory, which will not perhaps reach to future generations ; which, however splendid, and however diffused, even to the extremities of the earth, will last only to the end of time. Histories, brass, and marble, at most, will preserve their memory among men ;

¹ Even in the *modern* saint-biographer, Alban Butler, you will find, everywhere, examples of these prodigious miracles.

but these illustrious monuments will perish with the world, and this glory will perish with them,—but the glory of the saints will eternally endure. What then can I do better,” concluded Ignatius, “than fight like them under the banner of spiritual chivalry, since it has so many advantages over the temporal.”¹

His resolution being thus taken, he hesitated not a moment on the choice of the examples he should follow.

Ignatius and the devil. St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assyse presented themselves immediately to his mind—one as the spiritual Orlando, the other as the spiritual Amadis de Gaul. The difficulty of imitating these sublime heroes did not affright him ; his courage made him think all things possible ; and then it was that he cried out in the ardour of his zeal : “ Why may I not undertake what St. Dominic achieved ? Why can I not do what St. Francis performed ? ” Prayer and repentance, however, were the prescribed beginnings of sanctity ; so Ignatius, to conform to the rule as he conceived it, passed all his nights in prayer and weeping for his sins. Having risen one night, as usual, to give free course to his tears, he prostrated himself before an image of the virgin, and consecrating himself to the service of Mary, with sentiments of the most tender affection, swore to her an inviolable fidelity. This was too much for Satan. Immediately Ignatius (according to his own account, of course,) heard a horrible noise—the house shook—all the casements of his windows were shattered to pieces. It was the devil, who, enraged to see himself abandoned by our hero, paid him a visit of expostulation. Foreseeing what Ignatius would one day become, the fiend would have wished to destroy him under the ruins of

¹ Hist. de l'admirable Dom Inigo, i.

the castle. But Ignatius let fly a huge sign of the cross at the devil, who retreated in dismay. Ever after, they showed the breach which the devil made in retiring, for it never could be repaired, because of the insupportable stench that exhaled from it, and prevented approach. On this incident Valderrama flourishes to admiration. "When it came first," says he, "into the mind of Ignatius to quit his military employment, the house wherein he was shook, the walls were shattered, with all the beams and rafters ; insomuch, that all those who were in it left it ; and as it happens when in some sulphurous mountain a fiery fountain bursting forth, there is an immediate eruption of flames ; so when that internal fire, which pent up in the young soldier was cold, and, as it were, frozen in respect to things divine, grew more powerful, it so broke out into flames, that a thousand terrors, a thousand astonishments, a thousand combustions, were the consequence thereof—never was there any *Ætna*, any fiery mountain, that did the like."¹

Be sparing of your astonishment. If you be a phrenologist, your organ of wonder will have endless exercise in the history of the Jesuits ; if you read your Testament, the Acts of the Apostles (chap. ii.) will not be the only part of which you will be reminded in the lives of Jesuit-saints immortal ;—all history, sacred and profane, lends similitudes to the Jesuit-mind for the exaltation of its heroes. Its classic and devout diction seems to have necessitated the appropriation of classic and sacred incidents to spin the dazzling web. If hell was enraged, Heaven sang, "O be joyful," we are literally told, at this stupendous

Ignatius and
the Virgin
Mary.

¹ Ribaden., Nieremb., Maff., Bartoli, Bouhours, Vald. in Canon. S. Ignat. Imago, Hist. de Dom Inig., Pyrotech. Loy.

conversion. "The Virgin Mother of God," says Bartoli, in proof of having received the offering which he had made of himself to her, "appeared to Ignatius one night whilst in prayer, bearing the infant Jesus in her arms, and with familiar fondness remained some time before him, letting him see how she came to satiate him with a sight of her."¹

This interview was followed by a stupendous deprivation—the total removal of all concupiscence from the feelings of Ignatius. Never after did it presume to enter his heart; these horrible feelings vanished for ever. The favour has been vouchsafed to very few saints, *pochissimi santi*: Ignatius had it in so sublime a degree, that from this time forward, as if his flesh was dead within him, or he had lost all sense for the impressions of concupiscence, he never after felt even an involuntary emotion! *non ne provò mai più ne anco involontario movimento*.² Well might the Jesuit exclaim that Ignatius "was astonished to see himself transformed into another man."³

Enough, decidedly, to cheer the convert in his gigantic enterprise. How light, then, seemed the terrible deeds of sainted heroes. With his celestial favour, and his robust constitution, could he not do what so many saints did with delicate complexions? Could he not, like St. Hillarion, take four figs a day for his nourishment at sunset; or, like St.

A miraculous deprivation.

Ignatius and the awful penitents.

¹ "Ma se l'inferno arrabiò, all' incontro giubbilò il Paradiso, e la Vergine Madre di Dio, in fede d'aver gradita l'offerta, che di sè le avea fatta, un'altra notte, mentre egli veggiava in orazione, gli comparve con in braccio il bambino Gesù, e con sembiante d'affabile domestichezza, buona pezza gli stette innanzi, lasciandosi mirare, come venuta a saziarlo della sua vista."—Bartoli, lib. i., c. 6. Also, all the biographers triumphantly.

² Bartoli, l. i., c. 6.

³ Bouhours, on another occasion, l. i.

Apollonius, live on raw herbs, such as brute beasts graze upon ; or, like St. Pacomius, sleep on a stone ; or, like St. Zuirard, sit in the trunk of a hollow tree, environed on all sides with pointed stakes ; or take no rest at all, like St. Dorothy the Theban ; or perch on a high pillar, forty cubits high, like Simon the Stylite ? Could he not bend the knee two hundred times a day like St. Guingale ; pray three hundred times a day like St. Paul the anchoret ; or, after the fashion of St. Policrone, offer up his prayers with the root of a huge oak on his shoulders ? What ! will he, who with so much constancy suffered such cruel torments only to be enabled to wear a Morocco boot tight on his leg, refuse to suffer less to become a great saint ? Can he not keep himself cramped in a cage, placed on the ledge of a rock, suspended in air, like St. Baradat and St. Thalellus ? The fires of concupiscence are extinguished, but still, by way of a *coup de grâce*, can he not throw himself naked into a swarm of flies, like St. Macarius of Alexandria ; or into a heap of thorns and briars, like St. Benedict ; or into water in the middle of winter, like St. Adhelm and St. Ulric ; or into frost and snow, like the seraphic St. Francis ? What hinders him from giving himself a thousand blows a day, as did St. Anthelm ; or even from imitating the great St. Dominic of the buckler, who gave himself 3000 lashes every week, repeating the psalter twenty times right through ? O blessed Hagiology of Rome ! how inexhaustible thou art in resources for thy maniacs and demoniacs of devotion !

With such examples, in the Flowers of the Saints, before his hot imagination, well might Ignatius compare temporal knight-errantry with the spiritual, and give

the preference to the latter. From admiration of the former, he naturally passed to a greater admiration of the latter in his altered circumstances, and from great admiration he hurried to imitation. His resolution gained strength by a slight resistance which, we are assured, came from his family. All the circumstances in the life of Ignatius are made to *tell*, cleverly devised to influence peculiar minds : so we have on this occasion presented before us Don Garcia, the saint's brother, trying to dissuade him from his resolution. The speech is given after the manner of the ancients, and the saint's reply, in like manner, admirably suited to the trained lips of any youth dissuaded by his friends from entering the society of Jesus. You may be sure that *none* of the biographers omit *this* incident. It was applicable at all times of the "celebrated society." Ignatius gave the first example. Under pretext of paying a visit, the spiritual Quixote mounted on horseback, and left the castle of his ancestors for ever. He paid his respects to his old general, the Duke of Najare ; dismissed his attendants on some pretext again, we are expressly told, and took the road for Montserrat (a Benedictine monastery, not far from Barcelona)¹ *ripe for adventure*.²

He departs
to perform
his resolution. "Our
Lady of
Montserrat."

¹ Bart., Maff., Bouh., all the biographers gloriously.

² Before you proceed, perhaps you will be interested by the following account of the foundation of the monastery to which Ignatius is going. It will further elucidate the hagiology of Rome, or Roman Spain at all events. It is taken from a very rare book, called the "History of the Miracles performed by the intercession of Our Lady of Montserrat." The first count of Barcelona had a daughter—a most accomplished beauty—who was possessed by the devil. Her father carried her to a hermit, named brother John Guerin, and surnamed the holy man : he conjured him by his prayers to chase away the fiend that possessed her. This was done ; but, for fear lest the devil should enter again into that beautiful body, the count, by the advice of the same devil, left his daughter nine days with the holy man, who fell in love with her, ravished

It was on the eve of the Annunciation, March 24, 1522, that Ignatius mingled amongst the pilgrims hastening to the shrine, the miracle-working image of the Virgin : Our Lady of Montserrat. The Virgin had blessed him with her presence : he now made a vow of perpetual chastity, "in order to render himself agreeable to the eyes of

An adventure by the way.

the maiden, and cut her throat . . . Guerin went to Rome to ask pardon for these two execrable crimes : he confessed himself to the pope, who, struck with horror at the recital, ordered him, by way of penance, to return to Montserrat, walking upon his hands and feet, and never to speak or stand upright, till an infant of the age of three or four months old should bid him rise, and tell him our Lord had pardoned his sins. Seven years after, the Count of Barcelona, hunting on the mountain of Montserrat, found in a cavern a man, hairy like a bear, and walking upon his hands and feet. They took him alive, and carried him to Barcelona, where they kept him in a dungeon of the castle, chained like a wild beast. Some days after this, the count gave a solemn feast on occasion of a child's being born to him. The guests, having heard some talk of the hairy man, desired to see him. He was accordingly brought into the banquetting hall at the same moment that the child, whose birthday they were celebrating, and who was but three or four months old, was brought in his nurse's arms. The child had no sooner cast his eyes on the new Lycan, than he cried out with a loud and distinct voice, "Stand upright, brother John Guerin, for God has pardoned thy sins." He immediately rose up, and in an erect posture related his whole history to the count, who ratified his pardon, saying, "Since God has pardoned thy sins, I pardon thee also with all my heart. But," added he, "I desire to know where you have buried my daughter, that I may have her body brought to Barcelona, and interred in the tomb of her ancestors." Guerin showed the place where he had buried her ; and the ground being opened, to the great astonishment of the spectators, the count's daughter was found alive and ravishingly beautiful. Instead of the wound which the hermit had made when he cut her throat, nothing was to be seen but a red circle, not unlike a scarlet collar. And she told the count, her father, that the Virgin, to whom she had recommended herself, had thus miraculously preserved her. In memory of this surprising miracle, a convent was built in the same place for ladies, over whom the count's daughter was made abbess, and brother Guerin was appointed their confessor and director. Near this place was found an image of the Virgin, sparkling with rays of light, and perfuming the adjacent parts with sweet odours. In attempting to carry it away, it was found impossible to remove it. Judging by this prodigy that she was resolved to remain in the place where the daughter of the Count of Barcelona had been interred, they built there the monastery of Our Lady of Montserrat, and placed in it this image, of which they recount so many miracles, before which St. Ignatius is about to perform a ceremony, after tempting, or having, an adventure. Apud "De Selva."

the Virgin before whom he was about to appear,"¹ and "to ratify the grace which he had received in the previous apparition."² He fell in with a Moor, an infidel Mohammedan, of the race proscribed by Ferdinand; a miserable remnant of those who tarried in the land to see the last of their hopes vanish for ever, and curse the Christian banner, triumphant, and persecuting, as it proudly licked the breeze from the walls of Grenada. The travellers began to converse. Ignatius (his heart being full) spoke of his destination, the shrine of the Virgin. A dispute arose: the infidel denied the virginity of Mary, after giving birth to a child—a mere quibble of words—but enough to rouse the indignation of the converted Caballero. He warmed apace. The Moor was prudent, and left the champion behind. His flashing eye doubtless preluded the flashing blade, uneasy in its scabbard. Ignatius followed, championing the blasphemy, which he deemed worthy of death. Heaven seemed to demand the Mohammedan's blood. He hesitated, we are told, and left it to Heaven and his steed to decide, by dropping the bridle, resolved to kill the Moor, if the horse should follow the blasphemer. The animal turned off, we are told, actually into a worse road, and thus saved the Mohammedan!³ It was the fear of transgressing the laws of chivalry that induced Ignatius to let his horse or mule decide the matter: for, by those laws, he was bound to punish the high delinquent and disparager of his lady. There would have been nothing to wonder at, had he killed the Moor. In spite of the deep notions of spirituality attributed to him so absurdly by his biographers,⁴ it is evident

¹ Bouhours, &c. &c. ² Ibid. &c. &c. ³ All the biographers marvellously.

⁴ I mean where they explain the pious process of his conversion. On the present occasion, however, they sadly contradict their former fine discourse.

that his ideas of divinity and morality were the haziest imaginable. If his enthusiasm was not running mad, his chivalry was certainly not allayed by the assault of the devil, and the familiar greeting of the Virgin. In fact, I do not think it proven that Ignatius really *spared* the Moor : if he did not kill the infidel, that result did not, perhaps, depend either upon his will, or the mercy of his ass. However, such a miraculous guidance had, in a manner, occurred before ; for in the year 1136, about two hundred thousand crusaders, commanded by Emico, Clarebald, and Thomas, abandoned themselves to the conduct of a goat and a goose, whom they believed to be divinely inspired, to conduct them from Hungary to Jerusalem, as we are gravely told in the Chronicles of the Holy City.¹

Being arrived at the town, which stands at the foot of the mountain, he bought a coat of coarse cloth, a rope to serve him as a girdle, a gourd, a pair of sandals, and a great cloak ; and placing The vigil at arms. this furniture of a religious warrior on his saddle-bow, soon the "gentle knight was pricking on the plain," to the shrine of his lady. He clomb the sacred hill, and reached the monastery. There he found a holy Father, a Frenchman, a man of great austerity and devotion,

Bartoli, as well as Bouhours, who follows him in general, pointedly alludes to the saint's moral obliquity on this occasion. Bartoli flatly calls him "an unexperienced novice, who as yet did not well distinguish between the sentiments of a Christian and the impulses of a knight"—"*inesperto novizio in cui ancora non si distinguevan bene i dettami di Cristiano, e gli spiriti di cavaliere.*" L. i. 9. Certainly if Hasenmüller may be credited in spite of his acrimony, the Moor was truly fortunate if he escaped. By his account, stated to be from Bobadilla, a Jesuit, Ignatius was as cruel and blood-thirsty as he was chivalric. "*Bobadilla, unus ex primis Jesuitarum patribus, fatetur eum fuisse hominem armis castrisque assuetum, et tam truculentæ animi ferocitate præditum, ut quemvis obvium, etiam caprinam ob lanam sibi resistentem, gladio vel hastâ transverberare fuerit ausus.*"—*Hist. Jesuit. Ordin.* p. 12.

¹ Les Chroniques de Jerusalem, lib. i. apud "De Selva," Hist. de Dom Inigo.

whose duty it was to shrive the pilgrims. He had the pleasure of listening to the darksome catalogue of the Caballero's transgressions, which required three days for the transfer—not without many interruptions by bitter groans and similar tears. After his confession he gave his rich garments to a beggar, and being stripped to the shirt, he donned the accoutrements of the new order of knighthood which he was founding, in great jubilation of heart devoutly kissing the penitential sack a thousand times, girding his loins, hanging his gourd at his side, and, pilgrim-staff in hand, he passed the live-long night before his Lady's altar, alternately kneeling and standing, but always praying,—whilst he spent the indispensable "Vigil at Arms," as the paladins called it, according to the usages of ancient chivalry,—being now after his own invention,

THE NEW AMADIS DE GAUL.¹

¹ *Amadis de Gaul*, trad. par le Comte Tressan, 1780. There is an English translation by Dr. Southey. See Sismondi, i. 151 ; ii. 150, for an account of the work.

At the break of day he hung up his sword and dagger on a pillar near the Virgin's altar, as a standing memento of his election, and in such exultation as may be conceived but not expressed, he set off, with bristling resolves, to Manreza—then a little obscure town not far from Montserrat, but since rendered extremely interesting and extravagantly famous by our knight of the Virgin, for the penance he there performed—a penance which is with reason more extolled than that of Amadis de Gaul on the desolate rock, renewed by the admirable Don Quixote de la Mancha, if you remember, on the black mountain.¹

Thus is Ignatius fairly or foully, as you please, embarked on his new and unknown ocean of adventure. What is his object? It is difficult to say; but the immediate result will be fasting, prayer, and bodily maceration. The distant result, however, will be something more to the purpose. How far his present design, to rival in austerities the greatest saints before him, will give him greater honour in your

Reflections.

¹ All the biographers exultingly. Hist. de Dom Inigo, i., &c. &c. The following is curious:—"It is not as yet fully ten yeeres since I was in the same Church of Montserrat, where I saw a Benedictine Monke show very many superstitious Relicks, Idols, and other fopperies, unto Pilgrimes, and other people that were come thither: some upon devotion, and a blind, foolish, superstitious zeale, and others of curiositie (as myself and many more, God forgive us) to see their impostures, deceits, and couzenage, but I could not see Ignatius his Sword and Dagger: whereupon I requested the Sacristan that kept the Relickes, to let me see those two holy Bilbo-blades: he told me that there was never any such Sword or Dagger there. I seeming to wonder at the matter, showed him the Life of Ignatius, written by Peter Ribadeneira, a Spanish Jesuite, in the Spanish tongue, and printed at Valladolid, Anno 1604, where it is said that Ignatius left his Sword and Dagger there. Upon this, the Monke, in a Spanish fustian-fume, cried out *No me es de nada de las mentirias de los Teatinos*: that is to say, I care not for the Jesuites lyes or fables."—*Speculum Jesuiticum*, p. 3, printed in 1629. The Jesuits were confounded with the Theatines. That phrase seems to prove the anecdote to be authentic.

estimation, is yet to be decided ; but unquestionably there is in the man no common purpose. And it has gripped his heart as a ravening tiger fangs its unresisting prey. Heart and soul the man is in his resolve—and you'll find him in his work. I have a notion, for which I crave your indulgence. It seems to me that Providence, which equipoises the tides of the ocean, alternately ebbing and flowing, and leaving no constant preponderance, permits something of the kind in the religious and political affairs of men and nations. The fortunes of men and of nations perpetually suggest the fact, I mean the *result*, though, having your own notions of good and evil, you will not always attribute prosperity to good, nor' adversity to evil. Nothing is more certain than that the notions of good and evil have suffered very remarkable changes among men. In fundamental laws, promulgated on divine authority, a decided change has been, on the same authority, declared imperative. For instance, "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth."¹ But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil : but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." Again : "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy :"² But I say unto you, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you : That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven : for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust."—Matt. v. It is to the adorable *motive* here

¹ Ex. xxi. 24 ; Lev. xxiv. 20 ; Deut. xix. 21.

² Lev. xix. 18.

suggested that I call your attention. The most consolatory doctrine of Providence over all, issues from that motive for universal charity and brotherhood. This is not the place to evolve the beautiful theory wherein God's justice and bounty are not at variance. Suffice it to say that whilst God endures man in any state, in every condition of belief and morality, "for he maketh his sun," &c., man, on the contrary, rises up a fierce exterminator on both scores, and in so doing, "thinks he has a good conscience." There have been times when that impulse rushed through humanity like a fiery meteor, or spread like epidemic pestilence. From the general excitation, as it were a general advertisement goes forth—for a saviour, a defender. The state of affairs is the standing advertisement. Read through all political histories, you will never find a great, or a slashing, or a crushing mind, needed for any particular mission without his starting to the stage as the imp of incantation. You will find the same result in religious histories. About the same time, in the same year, 1521, when Luther stood forth the champion of Protestantism at the Diet of Worms, Ignatius conceived his resolution to dedicate himself to his spiritual career; and now, when Luther issues from the Wartburg, again to do battle in his cause, Ignatius has taken his vow, and begins his pilgrimage, (not to Jerusalem, forsooth, though he went thither,) but to Rome, whose rampart he is to become. Luther's entry into Wittemberg took place only eighteen days ere Ignatius passed his "Vigil at Arms" before the Virgin of Montserrat. When Luther attacked indulgences, he knew not that he would become the champion of the Protestant movement: when Ignatius resolved to imitate St. Dominic and St. Francis, he

had no idea of being an opponent of that movement. Both results followed, however, and an equipoise was effected, after considerable obstructions, of course, in the religious *and* political affairs of humanity. I shall again touch on the subject in the sequel.

We left Ignatius at Manreza. Astonishing it is to see how well he copied the example of the Catholic saints—
Indian
penitents. those dreadful examples of what human nature
 can do with itself if only impelled by a motive.

Any motive will do to produce the same results in a Catholic Christian, (of old,¹) or a *Yogee* of India—those unapproachable ascetics of a pagan god. Under a sense of sin, or thirsting after immortality, or seeking absorption into the Deity as their supreme good, these pagan devotees forsake their homes, and practise the austerities which their cruel superstition inspires and requires. True, the great majority are animated by no such motives. Ambition, vanity, love of admiration, and thirst for fame, and honour, and renown, the hope of being worshipped now, and of being elevated into a divinity after death, may be unquestionably the ruling passions of those who embark in this arduous enterprise; but the result is precisely the same. One man lies on a bed of spikes, or travels to Benares upon shoes whose irons lacerate his flesh. *He* inflicts tortures on his body for the good of his soul.² Another vows to remain standing in a certain position for years, with his hands

¹ I say of *old*—but the spirit of ascetic self-torture is not yet dead. In the "Times" paper of Dec. 21, 1847, you may have read the case of a French nun, of Paris, who, by advice of her confessor, constantly wore a crucifix with points on its surface, next her naked breast, in which position it was found by the physician who was called in to prescribe when she sank under her secret austerities. At night she slept with it under her back, so as not to lose the dear torment.

² Campbell, India, p. 55.

held up above his head, until the arms wither away from inaction, become fixed and powerless. One carries a cumbrous load, or drags after him a heavy chain, which he sometimes fixes to the most tender part of the body. Another undertakes a long and wearisome pilgrimage from the extreme north of India to Rameeshwarum, in the south ; or from the extreme south to Benares, in the north, measuring with his prostrate body the whole extent of the journey. Understand me well ; he lays his body lengthwise on the ground at each remove, or drags himself thus, and so he journeys on—poor miserable wretch—how the heart sickens to think of it—on—on—in his dismal pilgrimage he goes, parched with thirst in a burning clime, famished with hunger, a prey to every calamity. Some crawl like reptiles upon the earth for years, or until they have thus made the circuit of a vast empire. Others measure with their bodies the road to Jaganath, or, assuming as nearly as possible the form of a ball, or a hedgehog ensconced in his prickly coat, roll along, like the Indian in Vathek, *teres atque rotundus*, from the banks of the Indus to those of the Ganges, collecting, as they move in this attitude, money to build a temple, to dig a well, or to atone for some secret crime. Some swing before a slow fire in that horrid clime, or hang for a certain time suspended, with their heads downwards, over the fiercest flames.¹ The legs of the standing penitents swell and become deeply ulcerated ; they cannot stand : they lean against a pillow suspended from a tree. Some turn their heads over their shoulders to gaze at the heavens, remain in that posture until it becomes impossible for them to resume the natural position, while, from the twist of the

¹ Oriental Mem., i. 68, 69.

neck, nothing but liquids can pass into the stomach.¹ The Yogee falls prostrate, and continues in fervent devotion until the sun pours down his heat like a furnace. He rises then, and stands on one leg, gazing steadfastly at the sun, whilst fires, each large enough to roast an ox, are kindled at the four corners of the stage on which he exhibits, the penitent counting his beads, and now and then throwing combustible materials into the fire, to increase the flames. Then he bows himself down in the centre of the four fires, keeping his eyes still fixed on the sun. Next, placing himself upright on his head, feet elevated in the air, he remains for *three hours* in that inverted position. Lastly, he seats himself with his legs crossed, and thus endures the raging heat of the sun and the fires till the end of day.² At night, how fares this voluntary penitent? He stands erect, up to his neck in a river, or a tank; and why? In order that thus the juices of his body may be dried up, and he may obtain emancipation from his passions and his sins.³ Some bury themselves in like manner in the ground, or even wholly below it, leaving only a little hole, through which they may breathe. Others tear themselves with whips, or chain themselves for life to the foot of a tree.⁴ Some stand in the midst of frost and snow, that the cold may seize on their vitals: others throw themselves from some terrible precipice, to perish in pursuit of a phantom and a lie.⁵ In the midst of the wild woods, caves, rocks, or sterile sands, sharing the habitations of the beasts of the forest, and feeding on the roots of the desert, you may see these resolute penitents, mostly naked, their long hair matted into ropes, intertwined

¹ The Hindoos, ii. 57.² Mill, India, i. 353.³ Campbell, India, p. 55.⁴ Hist. of Brit. India, i. 354.⁵ Campbell, *ubi supra*.

with other locks from the heads of other saints long in the sepulchre, falling confusedly over their bodies, which it sometimes nearly covers, reaching the ground on all sides. In this state they are more like wild beasts than men. Their outstretched fingers, armed in many cases with nails of twenty years' growth, look like so many extraordinary horns, whilst their elf-locks, full of dust, and never combed, stream in the wind in a manner strangely savage and horrible to behold.¹ And yet not enough. What means yon crowd innumerable, round a pole, erect and ready for something? 'Tis a swinging festival. From amidst the crowd comes forth a Sannyāsi, or Indian penitent. The multitude applaud the holy man. He has vowed perpetual silence. And now look up! A hook is thrust into the tendons of his back—he is suspended in the air, and swung round and round, to propitiate the favour of some exasperated deity.² And the hideous festival of Jagannath, or Juggernaut, who has not heard of the countless multitudes flocking from all the most distant extremities of India, in a pilgrimage in which they starve, and pine, and perish, to feed the vultures that hover in readiness above their path, dogs and jackalls; to strow the Aceldama with their whitening bones; or, should they linger to the end, with a vow to honour their god when his tower of Moloch shall roll its wheels over their bodies, willingly stretched in the bloody path, and crushed to atoms?³ Old as humanity is self-torture; and yet some "good" is its object. The Anchorite of India subdued his passions, acquired the habit of contemplation, and mortified or

¹ Oriental Mem., i. 69; Campbell, *ubi supra*.

² Campb., p. 56.

³ See Buchanan, *Christ. Researches*, for a heart-rending account of this festival, p. 19, *et seq.* Hindoos, p. 217, *et seq.*

macerated his body. He eradicated the three great propensities as to land, money, and women. He also extirpated all ordinary prejudices concerning castes, distinctions, and honours. His wish was to extinguish the most natural feelings, and even the instincts implanted in us by nature for our preservation. He required of his disciples to be insensible to heat and cold, to wind and rain, and to eat without reluctance not only the most offensive disgusting scraps, but even *things of which nature herself shows her utmost abhorrence*.¹ After all you have read of these pagans, the exploits of the Christian Ignatius will seem trivial indeed.

The knight of the Virgin arrived at Manreza, and went to lodge at the hospital of that city, and felt an excess of satisfaction at seeing himself in the number of beggars, its inmates. To conform himself to their manner of life, he begged his bread from door to door ; and that no one might be able to discover his quality by a certain air, which persons well-born preserve even in rags, he studied the gross manners of those with whom he lived at the hospital, and forced himself not only to imitate them, but even to improve upon what he had remarked most loathsome in them ; he succeeded in this attempt to a miracle. His filthy hair hung in disorder, and concealed one half of his face ; his beard as long, as much neglected, and as filthy as his hair, covered the other half ; this, with his nails, which he suffered to grow to a frightful length, so much disguised him, that he had rather the appearance of a bear, than a human creature. He was indeed so frightful, and so ridiculous at the same time, that when

Ignatius doing
penance.

¹ Dubois, Description, p. 330, *et seq.*

he appeared the children would point him out to each other, and follow him through the streets with loud outcries : the women, of whom he asked charity, took flight, scared at his horrible figure ; the gay made him their jest, and the grave were of opinion that he ought to be sent to a mad-house. He suffered all their insults with marvellous patience, and even affected to be more stupid than he really was, that he might excite more wonder, and have more occasions of mortifying those emotions of pride and self-love, which had not yet ceased to intrude amidst these strange follies. He fasted every day on bread and water, except Sunday, when he eat a few herbs, boiled and mixed with ashes. He girded his loins with an iron chain, wore under his coarse gown a rough hair-cloth, and, in imitation of St. Dominic, gave himself the discipline or lash three times a day ; and when he went to the church of Our Lady at Villardodis, at some distance, he encircled himself with a wreath of rough and prickly briars, to tear and transfix his flesh. But this method of honouring his Lady is far surpassed by the Sannyāsi, at the festival of his Kāli, or Kaluma, a female deity of India. On this occasion, the devout worshipper pierces his tongue with spits and canes ; thrusts sharp instruments through his sides ; infixes needles in his breast ; pierces the skin of his forehead, and inserts an iron rod in a socket attached to his person, suspending a lamp, which is kept burning all night. In this condition, he dances before his idol.¹ At the hospital, Ignatius sought out the most irritable and loathsome patients, and performed with most eagerness and alacrity the most disgusting offices. He not only handled them, took them in his arms, made their

¹ Ward, i. 353. The Hindoos, ii. 57.

beds, washed them, cleaned them, but, more than once, he even applied his mouth to their ulcers, and sucked the purulent discharge ; and this he did, copying examples in the Lives of the Saints. Meanwhile, he would watch all night, and used no other bed but the bare earth. He spent seven hours in prayer every day ; and though he had learnt only vocal prayer, he prayed mentally, without uttering a word, and remained whole hours immovable as a statue.¹

Four months in this course of penance he passed without the devil's bestirring himself to disturb the joy he tasted in it : but, says the sage who "Temptation." transmitted to posterity the great actions of our hero, this evil spirit observing him one day in the hospital, pleased amidst the filth of this miserable abode, could not endure such an excess of humility in a man bred up in the palace of a king. "What hast thou to do in this hospital ?" was the imp's appeal ; "what infamy in a man of thy quality to take upon him the life of a beggar ? Are dirt and filth the essence of holiness ?" very wisely, but cunningly it seems, asked the devil. "And canst thou not become good without suffering thyself to be devoured alive with vermin ? Art thou not ashamed thus to degrade thy nobility, and dishonour thy illustrious house ? Heaven, which bestowed on thee a generous heart, was willing that thou shouldst be a holy knight, but not a miserable vagabond. Quit then this

¹ All the biographers ; but Maffei is very concise on the subject, and Bouhours lops off much of Bartoli's luxuriance of description. Levier or "*De Seleu*," however, gathers largely from Ribadeneyra and Nierenberg, and shows up the mock-Sannyasi to admiration. It is the work of no admirer, but fair withal. Bartoli writes from the archives of the saint's canonisation—the humbug attestation on oath usual on such occasions. I shall have a word to say on the subject in its proper place.

horrid place. Go, show thy virtues in the court or the army ; thy example will there produce more advantage than in an hospital. One such man will suffice to reform a whole city. At court nobles will imitate thee, but here children make game of you." These thoughts, for such of course they were, found immediately some access to the mind of Ignatius : suddenly he conceived a disgust and horror for the wretched existence he was leading—amid the loathsome patients of the hospital, its filth and harassments. That was a trying ordeal. How shall he pass through the fire of that temptation ?—for such the spiritualists, the ascetics call it. And why ? Because it militates with what they lay down as indispensable means of salvation. They have fashioned a God after their own hearts, and their God delights in the fantastic and the horrible. In the main, the thoughts of Ignatius were sensible, rational, and, therefore, in accordance with pure religion. To visit the sick, feed the hungry, clothe the naked, are things sensible, rational, and religious, and most consolatory to us all when we can do them. But to suck ulcers ! And to imitate a Yogee—to imitate the pagans who, with like intentions, eat and drink what cannot be named,¹ or the Roman saints, whom Ignatius copied ! Considered in itself, his attendance and services to the sick are in accordance with pure religion : he performed gratuitously what others are compelled to ask money for, it being their avocation. With pure benevolence, like that of a Howard, he would have merited our admiration and applause : but he was working for "merits"—for salvation-payment, and seeking to rival the "saints." He may have been benevolent by nature, but benevolence

¹ Dubois, *Description*, &c. p. 331.

was not his motive here. Pure religion, therefore, makes us shrink with disgust from the sight of a man deceiving himself with horrid mockeries of sublime virtue, human and divine. Well might he feel qualms of conscience, and translate them into "temptations of the devil;" and rush from the thoughts of his better nature into more frightful practices, "to conquer the devil that assailed him, and nature which betrayed him!"¹ Forsooth it would rather seem that the "devil's" suggestions were *intended* to drive him farther in his horrible career. I submit the idea to the spiritualists and ascetics.

After such a gain of merits and virtue, *di tal guadagno di meriti, e di virtù*, we are told, Ignatius decamped from the hospital. It had got
His austerities in a cave. wind, how, we are not informed, but by the *devil* of course, as they affirm, that the poor unknown, whom all laughed at, was a man of quality doing penance, and who, to conceal the splendour of his family, had stripped himself of his rich clothes, and exchanged them for those of a poor man. If, instead of the devil, they told us that Ignatius, in his fit of disgust at the hospital, had, in an unguarded moment of irritation with the abusive patients, let out who it was that served and cleaned them for their ingratitude, the thing would be quite natural and excusable too; but the devil and Providence answer all the purposes of fanatics, the ignorant, the designing. Not through the ranks of scoffers, and jesters, and hooters now walked Ignatius. The fact had given new eyes, new consciences—aye, charity to the gaping multitude. *Then they discovered*

¹ "Per vincere in un colpo due nemici, l'inferno che lo assaltava, e la sua natura che lo tradiva."—*Bartoli*, lib. i. 11.

the noble air under the hideous mask of poverty. *Then* were his greatest admirers those who had mocked him before. Was this not the sweet fulfilment of the knight's desires? Is it uncharitable to say that he must have exulted inwardly as he so soon beheld the results of his "merits and virtue?" One biographer tells us that he took flight on this very account; another, that he decamped in order to conquer the devil and his nature, conspiring against him in the disgusting hospital. In this contradiction, the state of his case, the workings of the human heart in such a case, must lead us to a right conclusion. And now pass on to the cavern where Ignatius resolves to perform the second act of his tragedy, to be rehearsed subsequently by his own lips to his admiring disciples. He has already copied and rivalled thirty thousand, at least, of the glorious saints whose lives he has been reading. He has done their deeds, if he has fallen short of a Yogee or Sannyāsi. But his imitative faculties have been hitherto confined to the *social* saints, if they can bear the name, the saints of human society. His attention is now called to a different class,—the awful Fathers of the Desert, the Sannyāsis of the Roman calendar, of whose frightful devotion the very rocks of Thebais must still be eloquent if there be "sermons in stones." The anchorets of Egypt defy Ignatius of Manreza, and the knight of our Lady picks up the gauntlet. St. Anthony, with his temptations and beautiful devils, will meet him in the tournament. The cavern was at the foot of a hill, cut in the living rock, dark, and fashioned like a tomb. Had it been designed by Ignatius, it could not have suited him better. Rough, and ragged, and splintered was the approach; every bruise—every gash he received was a merit.

Briars and thorns blocked up the entrance. He had torn himself through them, and exulted at the pain. On all sides round a dismal wilderness insured him freedom from all intrusion, excepting that of the devil. And oh, how entrancing! In the side of the cavern which faced Montserrat there was a cleft in the rock, through which he could see and salute our Lady—*per dove si puo vedere e riverire nostra Signora*. She would thus be the lady of the lists, the umpire, and guerdon-giver, in the tournament. His fervour redoubled, and dreadful were his self-inflictions. He watched and watched till he conquered sleep; four or five times a-day he gave himself a shower of blows with an iron chain, fetching blood; more than seven hours he prayed on his knees; and, after the example of St. Jerome in the Wilderness, struck himself violently on the breast with a flint. Add to this his pains from the hair-cloth, his chain-girdle, the vernal frost, against which he found no defence in the open cavern, and but little in the sack which covered him: he continued three or four days without taking any nourishment, and when his strength failed him, he eat some bitter roots which he found near his cavern, or a bit of the musty bread which he had brought from the hospital.

The result you expect naturally followed. The wonder is, that he lived through the ordeal. His strength failed: his disordered stomach tormented him with bitter and continual pains: sudden faintings deprived him of his senses. In this condition, almost lifeless, he was found at the entrance of his cavern, by some persons who went in search of him, having discovered his retreat. A little nourishment, which they forced him to take, having restored him from his swoon, he would

have regained the bottom of his grot, but, in spite of his reluctance, they carried him back to the hospital of Manreza.

One word of reflection on this curious affair. Perhaps you do not know what hunger is—I mean practically ; and perhaps you do not know what fasting is—fasting in right good earnest—fasting to punish the rebel flesh and put down concupiscence. It varies with the temperament somewhat in the intensity of its effects ; but continuous fasting, with the set-purpose of maceration in view, constantly produces the very result deprecated. With the body all the faculties of mind are weakened—will, memory, and understanding. But that propensity in you, which you may have indulged, or which is naturally stronger than the rest, will still have its modicum of strength more than the rest, and your will (whereby your moral strength is imparted) being weakened, how can you more effectually resist your propensity by fasting? In fact, fasting redoubled the temptations of St. Jerome, who was naturally lascivious ; and it is proverbial that we should not ask a favour of a crusty man before his breakfast. Give to the man of strong passions moderate meals and plenty of work ; diminish the supplies and idleness of an alderman *corpulento e grasso*: but let your fasting be only from sin, as much as possible.

Ignatius, however, took another view of his case, though exactly to the same end, against fasting. It is the *devil* again who speaks ; there's no doing without the devil in Jesuitism. “How canst thou,” said he to him, “how canst thou support a life so austere during *seventy* years which thou hast yet to live?” This was giving him a pretty long run in store—*rather* too long :

but Bartoli takes off just twenty years, and reduces the term to fifty.¹ Need I give his reply? Enough, alas! of the pernicious mockeries of religion which the Jesuits have debited to the world. Tired and harassed with the recital, let us advance into more tangible facts, on which contemporaneous history will shed enlightenment. A rapid glance at his career will, however, be necessary to enable us to appreciate the man and his work.

Ignatius was tried: he had his temptations: the devil spoke to him internally: the devil's speeches are recorded. But he triumphed; and if he has not said that angels came and ministered unto him, still he affirmed, according to the biographers, that, whilst rehearsing the "office" or prayers of the Virgin Mary, he was elevated in spirit, and saw, as it were, a figure clearly representing to him the most holy Trinity.² Thus he was made chaste by a kind of necessity, and he is now a believer without the necessity of written revelation.³ Disease, despair succeeded, but heavenly consolations were not denied. He once had a rapture of eight days' duration. They thought him dead, and were on the point of burying him, when he opened his eyes,

¹ "Qui fieri potest ut duram hanc . . . vitam septuaginta annos ad quos victurus es, perferas."—*Ribadeneyra, Vit. Ignat.* lib. i. c. vi. "Come avesse cuore di durare cinquanta anni che gli rimanevan di vita."—*Bartoli*, lib. i. 12.

² Bonhours.

³ "Quod etsi nulla scriptura mysteria illa fidei doceret."—*Acta Sanct.* Again, "Quæ Deo sibi aperiente cognoverat."—*Maff.* p. 28. This last passage is erroneously translated by D'Aubigné; thus, "he would have believed them, for God had appeared to him." It simply means, "what he knew, God opening or revealing unto him;" that is, by immediate revelation. Such errors I find constantly in all works against the Jesuits. The comparison drawn by D'Aubigné between Luther and Ignatius, is amusing, but totally baseless in every point. The national characters of the two men did not differ more than their respective individualities. See *Hist. of the Reform.* iii. 118, *et seq.*

and with a tender and devout voice exclaimed, "Ah! Jesus!" "No one knows," continues the same authority, the secrets which were revealed to him in that long ravishment; for he would never tell; and all that could ever be extracted from him was, that the graces with which God favoured him were inexpressible."¹ It is asserted that Ignatius received thirty visits from Christ and the Virgin.²

Enough has surely been recorded to show forth the results of conversion in the sixteenth century. In Jesuit-books these thrilling incidents are so sweetly worded, that they penetrate to the heart without resistance, and provided we have the peculiar grace requisite, our admiration for the spirit of Jesuitism is overwhelming. These details, which are given as from the saint's own lips, were believed in all their intensity by the faithful; and a council of Spanish ecclesiastics at Tarragona, declared, that "the holy Virgin, in the sanctuary of Montserrat, *conceived to the sacred Ignatius*, and having embraced him in her bosom, opened and imparted to him the bowels of her mercy; and in such a manner, being, as it were, enveloped in the womb, she cherished him, and fed him with the food of heaven, and filled him with her divine spirit."³

The result of these wonderful adumbrations—this Delphic delirium, was the composition of the famous

¹ Bouhours.

² Nieremb. San Ignacio.

³ Nieremberg, Vida de S. Ignacio. "La Virgen Santissima, en aquel sagrado lugar de Monserrate, concibió al sagrado Ignacio, y aviendole abrazado en su gremio, abrió, y comunico con el las entrañas de su misericordia . . . y de tal manera estando como embuelto en el vientre, le favoreció, y con pasto del cielo le alimento, y lleno con su espíritu divino, siendo Ignacio aun niño, como cerrado en las entrañas de su madre, dava saltos de placer, y muchas veces estando fuera de si, y levantando sobre si, vio como en un espejo el ineffable misterio de la Santissima Trinidad," c. xvi.

book entitled the Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius. From a penitent, equal to the greatest of Christendom, but not of Brahminism, Ignatius would become a *teacher unto salvation*. The result is natural—is consistent; hence we may dismiss the question, whether Ignatius did or did not appropriate the groundwork of that book from a similar production of the Benedictine monk Cisneros. The application and the use of it are sufficient to demonstrate the method of Jesuit influence. It was given to men as a revelation,—“the book of Exercises was truly written by the finger of God, and delivered to Ignatius by the holy mother of God.”¹

This book—or rather the training under its direction—has, we are told, worked miraculous conversions in all times. It consists of a course of meditations extending over four weeks—progressively from the life of worldliness and sin to the perfection of the saints—the temporal foretaste of the joys of heaven. A total seclusion from the affairs of life, is one of the conditions essential to the pilgrimage. Four meditations or contemplations take place daily—the first at day-break, the last at midnight. His spiritual director must be the penitent's only companion. The solemn silence of the *Chamber of Meditations* was not enough: artificial gloom, frightful pictures of hell, were there to strike terror in the soul through the senses.² The penitent brought fierce passions to the ordeal; they were strongly appealed to though the end of the means was holy. Pride, ambition, love, are not extinguished, but their objects changed;

¹ “Est enim liber Exercitiorum verè digito Dei scriptus, et a beatà Dei matre sancto Ignatio traditus.”—*Homo Orat. à I. Nouet. S. J.* 1843, in *Direct.*

² See Millot, ex-Jesuit, *Elem. de l'Histoire de France*, tome iii. p. 131.

and the imagination is trained to excite mental agitation or mental delight, through the corporeal senses, according to the subjects of meditation and the march of the pilgrimage. In the gloomiest hours we imagine we *behold* the vast conflagration of hell ; we *hear* its wailings, shrieks, and blasphemies ; we *smell* its smoke, brimstone, and the horrid stench of some sewer or filth and rottenness ;¹ we *taste* the bitterest things, such as tears, rancour, the worm of conscience : in fine, we *touch*, in a manner, those fires by whose contact the souls of the reprobate are scorched. Thus each meditation, each contemplation, are scenes of a drama—instinct with life : its pains and its pleasures, its vices and its virtues—every corporeal sense must perform each its function—metaphorically, at least, to aid the deception. And when from the meditations on human destiny, sin, death, judgment, we come to the contemplation of the more tangible subjects—the Incarnation—all that is most impassioned, most tender in our hearts, must be poured fourth in the vividly imagined presence of the Divine Persons—the angel fulfilling his mission, and Mary acquiescing in the work of redemption. We must diligently seek for expressions wherewith we may worthily address each divine person, the Word Incarnate, and his Mother ; praying, according to the emotion we shall feel in our hearts, for whatever may aid us to a greater imitation of our Lord Jesus Christ, as it were just made man.² Merely to see and hear the personages in contemplation, is trivial : we must, with a certain interior taste and smell, relish the suavity and lusciousness of

¹ "Imaginario etiam olfactu fumum, sulfur, et sentinæ cujusdam, seu facies, atque putredinis graveolentiam persentire." *Ec. v. Hebd. i.*

² *Hebd. ii.*

the soul imbued with divine gifts and virtues ; and by means of an internal touch, we must feel and kiss the garments, places, footsteps, everything pertaining to them, whence we may derive a greater increase of devotion, or any spiritual gift.¹

How sweet and tempting are the baits suspended here ! How delicious the odours around, making us ask, Whence come they—these odours ? But they are so sweet, so delicious, that poor human nature bribes the judgment to believe them divine : they are so sweet, so delicious !

This is called the “ application of the senses ” to the uses of the soul.

Towards the end of the second week occurs the famous meditation of “ the two Standards,” in which Ignatius sanctified his previous warlike notions, just as he has applied all his natural predilections and refined sensuality to the purposes of salvation in “ the application of the senses.”

In this contemplation we behold two camps in battle array—two generals appealing to us, each eager to enlist us in his service. In the rear of each general is his respective city or stronghold. One general is Jesus Christ, his city Jerusalem ; the other is Satan, his city Babylon the Great. The latter displays a splendid banner, with the motto, PRIDE, HONOUR, RICHES : on the standard of the Redeemer appear the words, POVERTY, SHAME, HUMILITY. “ To arms ! ” is sounded on all sides : we must instantly decide in whose ranks we will fight—shall it be with Satan or with Christ ?

¹ “ Interiore quodam gustu et olfactu sentire quanta sit suavitas et dulcedo animæ, &c. . . per internum tactum attrahere, ac deoculari vestimenta, loca, vestigia, cæteraque personis conjuncta,” &c.—*Hebd.* ii.

Having joined the ranks of the latter, having made the "election" (as it is called) one must learn how to conquer by patience and submission—by non-resistance unto death ; these being the arms of our warfare, with the example of Christ before us, his sufferings and death.¹

From the sadness of these themes we pass to the last week—the Sabbath of this spiritual creation. Then the "glorious mysteries" are contemplated—the Resurrection, Heaven, the Joys of the Saints, Divine Love,—all that is cheering must now make amends for the gloom preceding. As during the former weeks no joyful thought was admitted, so now all sadness must be dispelled. We stand by the sepulchre of Christ, or in the little house of the blessed Virgin ; the form, parts, and other peculiarities of which, as a cell or oratory, we examine with diligence, one after another.² Spiritual joy, the thought of glory must then entrance the soul. The light of day must be admitted. In spring and summer we must be cheered by the sight of the verdant foliage and of flowers, or the loveliness of some sunny spot ; during winter, by the now seasonable rays of the sun or a fire ; and so on, in like manner, with regard to the other befitting delights of body and mind, wherewith we can rejoice with the Creator and Redeemer.³

The principal rules and maxims of religious conduct, throughout these spiritual exercises, are found in the lessons and lives of the ancient fathers of the desert ;

¹ Hebd. iii.

² "Speculandum accipiet sepulchri situm, et beatæ Virginis domicilium, cujus formam, partes," &c.

³ Hebd. iv. For a detailed account of the Retreat and Spiritual Exercises, see *The Novitiate*, 2nd Edition.

they are here judiciously chosen, methodically digested, and clearly explained.¹ The manifest object of all is religious perfection according to the saints' ideas. In

the space of a month the soul seems to grow from the bud of repentance to the fruit of salvation. The easy and natural gradations throughout are truly admirable : the perfect adaptation of means to an end is also striking ; but the highest praise of original invention is due to Ignatius, if the work be his, for his method, just sketched, of giving intensity to the leading truths of revelation, by materialising spirituality, as far as imagination can effect this anomaly. By this method the science of the saints penetrates more deeply, mixes itself with all our sentiments and emotions, and we become strong in "faith, hope, and charity," without being aware of the imperceptible transformations which have been effected in our souls. Need it be added that, as the ultimate object of these exercises is to enable the penitent to choose a state of life—a profession—the chances are very many to one that he will remain amongst those whose method *has* dazzled and charmed and entranced him with joys of heart more intense than usually fall to the lot of plodding Christians, through the dull routine of commonplace morality. The spiritual exercises agitate the heart, and bewilder the mind, like strains of melting music mysteriously sounding in the midnight hour. It is hard to resist spiritual impulses in solitude ; but harder still when to these are added all the emotions of the passions, which, it is evident, are never permitted to slumber for a moment in the Chamber of Meditations. Finally, a delirium steals over the mind and heart ; we

Results of
the "spiritual
exercitia."

¹ Butler, Life of Ignatius.

feel predestined ; above all, we feel that we “can do all things” by holy obedience, having become totally “indifferent to all things in themselves,” considering them merely as far as they conduce to the end for which we were created, and this will be made known to us by our spiritual director, superior, or Father-general.

From this grotto at Manreza Ignatius departed on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He took Italy on his way, and received the pope’s blessing. His design was to labour in the conversion of the Turks, as the military knight had battled to subdue them : but the monks established at Jerusalem objected to his interference, and compelled him to return to Europe. Wonders, of course, attended him here, as everywhere else, and are duly recounted by the biographers. Convinced of his ignorance, he resolved to begin his studies : at the age of thirty-three he commenced grammar at Barcelona : but his memory was very defective ; he could retain nothing. Logic, physics, and divinity, confounded his original ideas : though he studied night and day he learnt nothing at all.¹ He was clogged in the conjugation of the verb *amo*, I love—clinging to the idea, and repeating to himself, “I love—God,” or “I am loved—by God.” A vow was necessary to wrench his thoughts from heaven : he made the vow at the foot of the altar to continue his studies, and apply to them with greater assiduity. He begged his master to punish him if he failed in his duty, and not to spare him any more than the youngest pupil.²

Meanwhile, he lived on the charity of those whom he

¹ Butler.

² Bonhours.

influenced. Two pious women particularly cared for the saint's temporalities. The name of one is immortalised with that of her protégé. Isabella Rosello is remembered with Ignatius of Loyola: nor is Agnes Pascal, with whom he lodged, consigned to oblivion: his chamber was the scene of a prodigy. Ignatius was discovered at night with his face all on fire, and seemingly raised above the ground, environed with light.¹

The same suspension-bridge of rapture had been vouchsafed to Saint Dominic;² and the lambent flame had been given to the pagan boy, Rome's future king.³

Ignatius raised a dead man to life. But the saint only prayed for as much life as would enable the suicide to make his confession and receive absolution. The dead man came to life, and died again as soon as he had received absolution!⁴

Indefatigable in his labours he reaped the harvest of numerous conversions; but the dread Inquisition pounced upon him as a wizard, a magician, a heretic. He escaped with honour amongst the people: he was declared a man filled with the spirit of God, a successor of the Apostles—the holy man.⁵ Judgment from above was imminent over all who questioned his sincerity.

¹ Bouhours.

² Butler, St. Dom.

³ Puero dormienti cui Servio Tullio nomen fuit caput arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu. Liv. lib. i. "A boy, named Servius Tullius, as he lay asleep, in the sight of many persons, had his head all in a blaze." Virgil, also, may have suggested the idea to the classical biographers:—

Ecce levis summo de vertice visus Iuli,
Fundere lumen apex, tactuque innoxia molli
Lambere flamma comas, et circum tempora pasci.—Æn. lib. ii.

⁴ Bouhours.

⁵ Ibid.

One day he was asking alms : a by-stander exclaimed : "May I be burnt, if this man does not merit the flames !" On that very day the unfortunate man was burnt to death by the accidental explosion of a cannon, "as if God," say the Jesuits, "in order to declare the innocence and avenge the honour of Ignatius, would verify the words of Lopez (that was his name) by the very punishment which he had wished himself."¹ Such tales are full of meaning : the Jesuits can frighten as well as console : terror and consolation often come with the greatest efficacy from the same imposing lips.

More troubles awaited Ignatius : his book of the Spiritual Exercises was denounced : he was examined, and acquitted, but forbidden to preach on the doctrines of Sin until he had studied divinity ^{His troubles.} four years. Dissatisfied with this sentence, he departed from Spain, and arrived at Paris in the year 1528, determined to gain that science which was necessary to give authority to his mission. Possessed with his new ideas, and determined to test their efficacy in the vocation which he had chosen for his new ambition, his difficulties seemed only to increase his ardour and fortify his resolution. Ignatius must have champed the inexorable curb of Privilege and canonical Orthodoxy, thus checking the impulse of his superabundant energies. His metal was misunderstood ; or rather, the "men under authority" treated the enthusiast (such a cool calculator withal !) as "leaders" have ever been treated ; they persecuted the man whom they should have "let alone" —and thus deprive him of that sterling merit which

¹ Bouhours.

persecution invariably confers. Little cared Ignatius for Orthodoxy, since Orthodoxy cared so little for *him*: a dutiful son of the Church he may have been in the abstract; but to stop his mouth thus unceremoniously was enough to inspire him with a worse resolution than we find recorded; there would have been nothing surprising had he turned heretic openly instead of trying another field for his operations. As it was, it proved the best step he could have taken: his persecutors eventually expedited his career; it was destined that his Society should be born in Paris, to which city he retired from Privilege and canonical Orthodoxy in arms against a poor field-preacher.

Here he suffered much from poverty, and was compelled to wander from place to place for substance. He visited *London* in his peregrinations!

At the college of St. Barbara, whilst prosecuting his studies, Ignatius managed by his dexterity to exchange a public whipping for a public triumph. He had been admonished not to interfere with the studies of the students by his devotional practices: he disobeyed, and the punishment was announced. But by a single interview he operated so effectually on the principal of the college, that, without replying, the latter led him by the hand to the expectant students, all ready for the sign to inflict the penance; then, throwing himself at the feet of Ignatius, he begged his pardon for having believed the evil reports against him; and rising, pronounced him a saint!¹

This solemn satisfaction at once raised Ignatius to a

¹ Bouhours.

most desirable position : he became famous ; the grand epoch of his life was at hand ;—"he knew clearly that he was chosen by God to establish a company of apostolic men, and that he was to select companions in the university of Paris."¹

Peter Lefevre, or Faber, was his first convert ; Xavier afterwards a saint, was his next ; and Laynez, Salmeron, Bobadilla, Rodriguez,—all famous men in the Society—subsequently enlisted. There was judgment in the selection and prudence in their probation ; for Ignatius gave them more than two years to mature their resolution and to complete their studies.

He begins
to gather
followers.

At length, on the 15th of August, 1537, finality was given to the glorious scheme : the determined vow was taken. Montmartre was the scene of the ceremony. The monastery stood on a hill near Paris, consecrated by the blood of martyrs, whence its memorable name.

They take
a vow.

It was the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin, when the church announces and commemorates the Virgin's bodily translation into Heaven on the wings of angels, as represented in pious prints and paintings. It was in a subterraneous chapel where the apostle of France, St. Denys, was beheaded. Lefevre said mass. He was the only priest among them. He gave them the body of the Lord ; they eat, and stood, and swore the vow of confederacy. They promised God to go to Jerusalem to convert the Turks ; to leave all they possessed in the world, excepting what was necessary for the voyage ; but they threw in the remarkable proviso, that in case they could not go to Jerusalem,

¹ Bouhours.

nor stay there, they would *throw themselves at the feet of the pope*.¹

Claudius Lejay, Codure, and Brouet afterwards joined the band, which, with Ignatius, now amounted to ten men, of different natures, of widely different dispositions and attainments, but all with a determined will to attempt "great things," and withal, devoted to Father Ignatius.

They set out, and reached Italy. Their pilgrimage was at an end ; for war having broken out between the Christians and the Turks, the voyage to Palestine was impracticable. Heaven preferred the clever *proviso* of their vow. It was during this journey, and at Vicenza, that Ignatius enjoined his companions to call themselves "the Company of Jesus." "Because," said he, "they were to fight against heresy and vice, under the standard of Christ." A bold and distinctive sign-board was that aspiring appellation ; and it was destined to be carped at accordingly with pious indignation, but rather inconsistently, for the more honourable and exalted the name we bear, the greater may be our efforts nobly to wear it. Ships were called "the Most Holy Trinity ;" colleges have divided between them the name of the Redeemer ; everybody calls himself a *Christian*. It was a bold idea in Ignatius to select the sacred name for his company ; and that is all, except that it answered most admirably the purpose of attraction and renown. Soon other names will be given to the followers of Ignatius, according to their attributes, real or supposed. They will be called the Servants of Jesus Christ ; the Venerable Congregation ; the Apostles and Legates

"The Company of Jesus," and other patronymics.

¹ Bouhours.

of Jesus ; the Brothers of Jesus ; Reformed Priests ; Theatines ; Priests of Santa Lucia ; Priests of Santa Catharina. Thus by their friends and admirers ; but the compact and awfully execrated patronymic " Jesuit " will cling to them more closely, until they will boldly adopt it themselves, always exceedingly accommodating to the troublesome world. Then will all manner of perverse names be showered on the sturdy workers :— *Jesuweiter*, or " far from Jesus ; " Papst-Schärgen, the pope's lictors ; Papst-Schwarze Ritter, the pope's black horsemen ; Esauites ; Jebusites ; and the Philistines of Christendom.¹ But little cared the followers of Ignatius for these hard names. They could boast of a mighty vision, which showed their credentials in Heaven. It follows :—

From Vicenza, the little band of pilgrims set out for Rome. On the journey, whilst retired in prayer, Ignatius saw the ~~E~~ternal Father, who presented him to the Son ; and he saw Jesus Christ bearing a heavy cross, who, after having received him from the Father, said these words to him—
I shall be propitious to you at Rome.

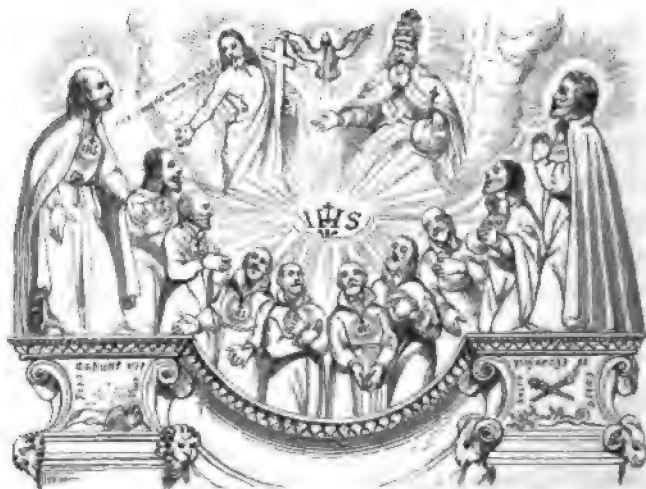
The most remarkable vision Ignatius ever had.

In the *Acta Sanctorum*, the Jesuits give an engraving of the chapel where the vision was vouchsafed.² Ignatius could not have hit on a better plan to invigorate the enthusiasm of his chosen band. He boldly related the " vision : " it had the desired effect : they marched on rejoicing. " This vision," says Bouhours, " is one of the most remarkable that St. Ignatius ever had ; and it is so well vouched for that it admits not of a doubt." Subsequently referring, with no small intrepidity, to this his " vision," Ignatius proudly exclaimed, "*When the*

¹ Hasenmüller, Hist. p. 21.

² July 31. *Acta Sanct.*

Eternal Father placed me with his Son,—Quando el Padre Eterno me puso con su Hijo.”¹ This is one of



the most suspicious traits in the character and career of Ignatius.

Only before the grand accomplishment did the prudent Ignatius make known to his disciples his final scheme ; and then he did so in a long speech which is given by his biographer. “ Ought we not to conclude that we are called to win to God, not only a single nation, a single country, *but all nations, all the kingdoms of the world ?*” Such was the leading idea : then looking forward he exclaimed, “ What great thing shall we achieve if our Company does not become an *Order*, capable of being *multiplied in every place, and to last to the end of time ?*”²

He foresaw difficulties ; but the man who had overcome every obstacle in his way, or patiently bided his

¹ Bouhours, i. 248.

² Id. ib. 257.

time for sixteen long years ;—such a man, if any, can look the future in the face and *resolve* success. Some thought him mad, but they knew him not : some think, even now, that he was mad, and echo the words of Voltaire, the ex-pupil of the Jesuits : “ Would you gain a great name ? ” asks Voltaire,—“ Be completely mad : but of a madness befitting the age. Have in your folly a bottom of reason to guide your ravings, and be excessively stubborn. It may chance that you get hanged : but if you are not, you may have an altar.”¹ There is some truth in this. Ignatius is now in no danger of a halter, but bids fair for an altar.

¹ Dict. Philosoph., tome x. Ignace.

BOOK III. OR, XAVIER.

SUCH are the leading facts in the life of Ignatius, hitherto the wandering preacher, as described by his own disciples, for the edification of the faithful. Preliminary observations. Every fact has been either questioned or bitterly ridiculed. The enemies of the Jesuits have clapped their hands with merriment thereat ; but the Jesuits and their friends have not ceased, on that account, to venerate their sainted founder. Ever convinced of his perfect integrity and holiness, they cease not to put up their prayers to Ignatius in Heaven for the protection and advancement of his cherished Society. His divine mission is believed ; his miraculous powers are firmly asserted ; and every Catholic is bound to reverence his name, since a festival has been appointed to him, and his name is invoked in the Mass.

The historian must bear these facts in mind : he must give them some little weight in the judgment he labours to form of this remarkable man. There must have been some merit—some considerable merit in Ignatius, to effectuate or direct the achievements of his nascent Society.

In the picture of the age which has been given, we

behold the field open to precisely ~~such~~ a man as Ignatius may be conceived to be, after making due allowance for the peculiar views of his biographers. In his career, up to the foundation of his Society, we see evidence of unflinching determination—a boundless passion for spiritual teaching—and we have no reason to believe that his morals were otherwise than pure, however strongly the whole narrative induces the thought that spiritual power was ever his object ; hence the assertion of *his visions and inspirations*, all which, if not invented by his followers, *must* have been proclaimed by *himself*. Herein is the important feature of the founder's character. Success attended his efforts : the world applauded : circumstances combined to cheer him on : he advanced as to the breach of Pampeluna ; but his arms were now those of the spirit, and with these to conquer, or *seem* to conquer, is one and the same. God alone will finally decide what is or what is not, true victory.

The Pope of Rome beheld Protestantism boldly advancing. Germany was almost totally Protestant. England was severed from papal allegiance. Switzerland, Piedmont, Savoy, and all the adjacent countries were “ infected with heresy.” France had caught the “ distemper ” from Geneva. The “ venom ” had penetrated into Italy. In such disastrous circumstances extraordinary succour was required.

Renown of
 Ignatius and
 his followers.

Paul III. thought well of Ignatius and his followers, whom he had dismissed to their probation, after the first interview and explanations. Rumour announced their deeds, their success. “ Everywhere,” said the thousand-tongued, “ they revive the spirit of Christianity ; the

most hardened sinners cannot resist the might of their words ; they have even converted a *libertine-priest*—a man of scandal, who composed comedies, and acted himself—a comedian at the altar, a priest on the stage ! They have converted him : he has been through the Spiritual Exercises, and has begged pardon of the people, with a rope round his neck, and has turned monk—a reformed Franciscan !”¹

Paul III., we are assured, was struck with astonishment at these brilliant achievements. He was “still more impelled by an interior movement.”² A The Society is established. Cardinal, who had strongly objected to the new foundation, “felt himself changed on a sudden,” for Ignatius had “redoubled his prayers before the divine Majesty, for the foundation, with extreme confidence ; and as if he had been assured of success, he promised, one day, to God, *three thousand masses*, in acknowledgment for the favour which he hoped to obtain.”³ All very specious indeed : but the result was, that the pope granted the Bull, *Regimini militantis Ecclesiæ*, and the Society of Jesus was founded.⁴

The Bull went forth on the 27th of September, 1540. His Company being established, Ignatius deemed it necessary to begin with electing a Commander-in-Chief, or General, for he never totally resigned his martial

¹ Bouhours.

² Id. i. 286.

³ Ibid, p. 284. It is a curious “coincidence” (which is to be accounted for by the Jesuits), that the same fact is recorded concerning St. Dominic and his Order. The pope objected ; but “he dreamed he saw the Lateran church in danger of falling, and that St. Dominic stepped in, and supported it with his shoulders.” Butler, St. Dom. The Jesuits have been determined that no founder should eclipse Ignatius, either in austerities, sanctity, miracles, or familiarity with the Almighty.

⁴ The Bulls and Breves take their titles from the first word or words. The present begins thus, “Raised to the government of the Church militant.”

notions : his men were to bear “the standard of the Cross, to wield the arms of God, to serve the only Lord, *and the Roman Pontiff*, his Vicar on earth.”¹

Ignatius summoned his little troop to Rome—not *all*, for some of his men were already at important posts. True to its subsequent history, the Society was already in a position to influence the minds of kings. The election of a General. Xavier and Rodriguez were at the Court of Portugal ; Faber at the Diet of Worms, and Bobadilla had express orders not to leave the kingdom of Naples before accomplishing the affairs committed to his management. The absent members left their votes ; the suffrages were collected ; as a matter of course, Ignatius was elected. He was surprised and afflicted ; but had he reason to be so ? Was it not natural that his followers should elect a man who had been favoured with visions—who had been enlightened to see through the mysteries of faith—who had been placed—*associated* by God the Father with God the Son, as before related.

Ignatius, as modestly as Julius Cæsar, refused the dignity—nobly, but gently, pushed away the proffered diadem.

The refusal confirmed the electors in their choice ; but, obedient to his request, they spent four days more in prayer and penance, before the next election. Ignatius was again elected. The Divine will seemed manifest. Ignatius was of a different opinion ; he made another effort to escape. He said he would “put the matter into the hands of his confessor ; and if the latter, who knew *all his bad inclinations*, should command him in the name of Jesus Christ to submit, he would obey blindly.”

¹ In the same Bull.

It is needless to state that the confessor "told him plainly he was resisting the Holy Ghost in resisting the election ; and commanded him on the part of God, to accept the appointment."

A question arises here. For whom did *Ignatius* vote in the election ? Surely, if he did not think himself perfectly qualified, he should have named the companion whom he deemed worthy of the high function, particularly as he had called the electors to Rome, for the express purpose of the election. But the sentimental votes recorded by the biographers lack that of Holy Father Ignatius. Xavier, Codure, Salmeron, have left their votes on the grateful page ; we see one of them even now *lithographed*¹, doubtless every other was equally fervid ; but we must remain uncertain as to the real sentiments of the modest saint on this interesting occasion.

In due time Ignatius drew up the Constitutions of his Society. Subsequently, as years rolled on, Rules, Decrees, Canons, &c., were added to this
The "Institute." groundwork ; the whole body of legislation being termed "The Institute of the Society of Jesus." These books profess to describe the system of the Jesuits, but only for the inspection of the Jesuits themselves ; and not even to the newly admitted members, or novices.² For the use of the latter, and to be shown to the world, when thought proper, there was a compendium, or summary, exhibiting brief rules and universals. They were not to be printed without the General's permission, and then not to be published, nor shown to those who were not received into

¹ See Crétineau Joly, *Hist. de la Comp. de Jesus* : t. i. p. 52.

² Decl. in Ex. Gen. G.

the Society.¹ It was, therefore, contrary to standing regulations, that the Constitutions should be produced to the world. These were exhibited, in process of time, on a very memorable occasion in the history of the Jesuits, as we shall read; and the suppression of their houses, and consequent appropriation of their goods and chattels, scattered the Constitutions, Rules, Canons, &c., over the world, and they are now to be had for a trifle or more at the cheap-book stalls of the metropolis.²

To conceive an adequate idea of the Jesuit Institute, we must, in some measure, forestall the period of its compact omnipotence. We must fling round General idea of the Society. about the primitive ideas of Ignatius, or the first founders, all that circumstances and expediency subsequently suggested to expand them into that absorbing POWER which men beheld with terror, and Heaven willed or permitted to be struck down. Upwards of twenty thousand well-trained, efficient veterans—a legion—a phalanx held together by corporeal and spiritual discipline—united, theoretically at least, and for a time, by the conformity of moral inculcation, casuistry, and the method of education—by the perfect resemblance of doctrine and manner of life, as far as circumstances or expediency would permit—bound to their General-in-chief by the chain of entire submission—obedience prompt, enthusiastic, blind—and scattered, without division, on the face of the earth. To the Jesuits, dispersion was but a matter of geographical

¹ Decl. in Ex. Gen. G., et Decl. in Prosem. n. 2. Ord. Gen. cap. ii. § 4.

² A collection, in my possession, has at length come together from all points of the compass, as evidenced by the *superscriptions* on the title-pages; one from the college at Louvain, another from that at Rome; a third belonged to the "Scottish Mission," &c.

latitude, not mental separation: a difference of language, not of sentiment. Skies changed for the wanderers, but not the peculiar ways and means and method of the Jesuit. In this mighty family all subscribed to the same articles of faith, whatever might be the tendency of their particular inculcations. That was their uniformity:—whilst *theory* is respected, *practice* will be allowed for: if you leave the former untouched, the latter, to a vast extent, may riot unmolested. The Roman and the Greek, the Portuguese, the Brazilian; the Irishman, the Russian; the Spaniard and the Frenchman; the Belgian and Englishman—all worked as one man: their individual tastes and inclinations were merged in the general object of appetite: they were a multitude in action, but in will a single, naked soul.¹

Penetrated by the same spirit, governed by one soul, this mighty body operated in concert, employed the same most powerful means to gain the object proposed by the Institute—the spiritual good of mankind in the first instance, but by the Jesuit-method effected, and necessarily attended with that temporal self-aggrandisement which exalted the Society of Jesus far above any confraternity that ever influenced the minds of men. It proved to be their misfortune: it is nevertheless the fact.

At the first command, at the slightest sign of the

¹ Hæc sunt intervalla locorum, non mentium; discrimina sermonis, non pectoris; cælorum dissimilitudo, non morum. In hæc familiâ idem sentiunt Latinus et Græcus, Lusitanus et Brasilius, Hibernus et Sarmata, Iber et Gallus, Britannus et Belga; atque in tam disparibus geniis nullum certamen, nulla contentio, nihil ex quo sentias plures esse. *Imago Primi Sæculi*, p. 33.

Idem sapiamus—idem propè dicamus omnes—doctrinæ igitur differentes non admittantur. *Const. part. iii. c. i. § 18.*

Superior, all was agitation and stir,—they marched to the conquest.¹ Hopeful of victory, they were not cast down by defeat ; effort succeeded effort till the breach was made, and the Society's banners outspread the talisman—*Ad majorem Dei Gloriam*—To the Greater Glory of God !

The simple Jesuit is to possess for himself neither power, nor office,² nor credit, nor riches, nor will, nor sentiments :³ the concentrated authority belongs to the General.⁴ His commands, his desires, are the law :⁵ his power flows from his hands as from its source, on the heads whom he chooses :⁶ it extends as far as he pleases ; it stops when he wills.

Condition of
the simple
member.

The General is elected for life, and by a general congregation of the Society, composed of the Professed Members. The General must be a Professed Member. His qualifications, according to the Constitutions, must be—great piety, and the spirit of prayer : he must be exemplary in all the virtues ; calm in his demeanour, circumspect in words. Magnanimity and fortitude are most essential attributes. He must have extraordinary intellect and judgment ; prudence, rather than learning ; vigilance, solicitude in his duties : his health and external appearance must be satisfactory. He must be middle-aged ; and a due regard is to be had to the recommendations of nobility, or the wealth and honours he may have enjoyed in the world.⁷

The General.

¹ "Licet nihil aliud quàm *signum voluntatis*," &c.—*Const.* part vi. c. i.

² Bull. Greg. XIV. ann. 1591.

³ *Const.* part viii. c. 1 ; *Exam.* c. 6. § 8.

⁴ *Const.* part ix.

⁵ "Monarchicam tamen et in definitionibus unius Superioris arbitrio contentam esse decrevit."—*Bull. Greg. XIV.* 1591.

⁶ *Const.* part viii.

⁷ *Ibid.* part ix.

He appoints the Provincials or rulers of the Provinces into which the Society is divided, the Rectors of Colleges ; all the officials of the Society.

A general congregation may depose the General : but this cannot be unless he “commits mortal sins of a delicate nature and public—in *externum prodeuntia*—or wounds any one, or misapplies the revenues, or becomes a heretic.

He has five Assistants corresponding to the great provinces of the Society, to aid him in his function.

Italy, Spain, Germany, France, and Portugal
The General's assistants. supply their assistants, elected in a general congregation. Their name explains their office. They assist the General in expediting the affairs of their respective provinces ; they stand between the chief and his subjects ; they are his prime ministers.

Something like a curb is placed on his authority. The assistants must be the watchful guardians of his virtue and conduct. Provincial congregations may deliberate on the expediency of a general congregation to consider his government, without his knowledge of the fact ; their votes are written.

Every Superior in the Society has his Monitor to observe his conduct ; the General is not exempted from

The Monitor. this seeming check to authority ; but it means little—it can effect less ; for the fact must never be forgotten, that a thousand regulations of the Society insure the similarity of views in the whole body. If it defends the General or Superior from “public sins,” in *externum prodeuntia*, it is no guarantee to the world at large, from those abuses which result from the possession of unlimited power in directing the efforts of thousands sworn to obey.

Another set-off against republicanism by the Constitutions is secured to the General in the remarkable regulations which follow. The General possesses the secrets of every member—a terrible ^{Another "set-off."} fulcrum for the lever of influence. He knows the character, the inclinations of every member ; he knows these facts, or *may* know them, for he has them in writing. He is made acquainted with the consciences of all who must obey him, particularly of the provincials and others, to whom he has intrusted functions of great importance. He must have, like each Superior, a complete knowledge of his subjects ; their propensities, their sentiments, the defects, the *sins* to which they have been or are more inclined and impelled,—*ad quos defectus vel peccata fuerint, vel sint magis propensi et incitati*.¹

Every year, a list of the houses and members of the Society, the names, talents, virtues, failings of all are there recorded. It was such a list, doubtless, that suggested to a General of the Society that proud exclamation, when, having exultingly alluded to his philosophers, mathematicians, orators, &c., he cried, "*Ed abbiamo anche martiri per il martirio se bisogna*,"—and we have men for martyrdom, if they be required.²

In effect, from this minute list of mental and bodily qualities, he can compute his power and direct his plans, adapt his commands and insure success to his delegated functions.³

Every local Superior or Rector must write to the Provincial *weekly* ; the Provincials to the General *weekly*, or at least *monthly*, detailing the condition and prospects of their respective departments.⁴

¹ Const. part ix. c. iii. § 19 ; Exam. c. iv. § 34 ; Const. part ix. c. vi. § 3.

² Chesterf. Letters, p. 236.

³ Exam. p. 35.

⁴ Const. part viii.

If the matter has reference to *externs*, or persons in the world, a species of cipher must be used to prevent discovery, in case the letter should fall into his hands,—*ita scribatur, ut etiamsi literæ in ejus manus inciderint, offendi non possit*.¹

The power of the General extends even over the Constitutions, which he may change, alter, or annul;² but the changed or altered parts are *not to be expunged*.³ Hence, an appeal to the Constitutions must always silence the enemy who ascribes the conduct of a member to his rules and regulations; hence the “*Monita Secreta*” may have been issued by authority!

Thus is the General’s power absolute—absolute as to the appointment of officials, the disposal of temporalities, the admission of fresh members to the Society, absolute in the power of “dispensation,” which he wields according to times, persons, and all the suggestions of expediency.⁴

The General sends out his Missioners whithersoever he pleases; and selects them according to the qualifications required by the circumstances in which they will be placed. The strong and healthy, the trustworthy, the tried, *probatî, et securiores*; the discreet and insinuating, *qui discretionis et conversandi gratiam habent*; the well-favoured in person, *cum exteriori specie*—men of genius and peculiar talent, orators, and skilful confessors—all must be sent where their respective qualifications are most required, or are likely to reap a plentiful harvest.⁵

The Missioners are sent in company, and must be *contrasted*. The talent of one must co-operate with that of

¹ Form. Scrib. 25. Edit. Ant. 1702.

² Const. part ix. c. iii. § 8.

³ Dec. Con. iii. d. 23. ⁴ Const. part ix. c. iii. § 8. ⁵ Ibid. part vii. c. 2. F.

another, or modified effects must result from the union of different natures. With a fervid and fiery temper, *ferventi et animoso*, let a more circumspect and cautious spirit be joined. A single Missioner ^{How supplied.} should not be sent.¹ All who are sent, go rejoicing. At the word of command from the Pope or General, the Missioner is ready for every fate : to share the luxury of kings whose conscience he has to govern, or to be devoured by cannibals, who prefer his flesh to the spirit of his religion.

To such a Society judgment in the selection of its members is essential, and this is required by the Constitutions. Prompt, humble, devout obedience, a constant correspondence from the remotest ^{How the Society is united in her members.} points of the Society, exact discipline in all the external practices of piety, which are so admirably adapted to keep the mind in subjection, the manifestation of conscience enjoined to every member of the Society, the perfect training in all the departments of knowledge—these, with the prestige of their name, were destined to weld together the terrible troop, and give them victory in a field where they had no equal opponents.

Other expedients of the Jesuits will be manifest as we trace their progress down the stream of their troublous times into the gulf of their destruction. A glance at their declared objects and their method of training their men, must precede the narrative.

The end proposed to the Society, according to the Constitutions, is not only to give each member the means of working out his own salvation and spiritual perfection, but also of applying him- ^{The "end" of the Society.} self to the salvation and perfection of his neighbour.

¹ Const. part vii.

Three vows are taken—obedience, poverty, and chastity,—understanding poverty to mean that the Jesuit will not and cannot have any revenue for his own support, nor for any other purpose. This prohibition applies universally. No stipend nor alms can be received for masses, sermons, or any pious office.¹

As to externals,—the Society does not assume, by obligation, any of the ordinary penances or macerations of the body. These are left to the dictates of individual piety and the judgment of the immediate superior.

It is a mendicant order, that is, its members are to subsist on alms.

These are divided into four classes :—

I. The Professi or Professed. These are the advanced Jesuits. Besides the three vows just mentioned, they make an express vow to the Pope and his successors to set out without excuse, without a viaticum or travelling expenses to any part of the world, among Christians or Infidels, “for the prosecution of such matters as tend to divine worship and the good of the Christian religion.”

II. The Coadjutors Spiritual, and the Coadjutors Temporal, are the simple priests of the Society, and the lay-brothers, or such as are not admitted to the priesthood, but make themselves useful in their respective trades—in other words, the servants of the Society—its printers, tailors, barbers, &c.

III. The Scholastici or Scholars, whose future position in the Society is to be determined by their respective qualifications.

IV. The Novices, or those who are admitted on trial.

The four
classes of
Jesuits.

¹ Exam. Gen.

Their trial or probation lasts two years, during which they are trained in spirituality, and taught the import of the vows they are about to take. Their natural dispositions are keenly observed : their temper is tried in various ways : the characteristic of their suitableness for *any* position is obedience.

The more endowed the applicant for admission is with natural talents or acquirements, and the more trying the experiments have been, in which he has stood the test, the more fit will he be for the Society. The Society requires sound knowledge, or an aptitude to acquire it, in the candidate,—united to tact in the management of affairs ; or certainly the gift of a good judgment to acquire that discretion. He must have a good memory, both quick and retentive. The desire of spiritual perfection must be in the will ; coolness, constancy, and determination in action. There must be zeal for the salvation of souls, “ which is the cause of the love that the candidate feels for the Society,” according to the assumption.

Elegance of expression in the candidate is particularly to be desired,¹—it being very necessary in his intercourse with others—with a handsome or agreeable person,² “ which usually edifies those with whom we have to deal ;” good health and strength of body are essentials : the age for admission to the novitiate is fourteen and above : for taking the last vow, twenty-five.

Previously to the legislation of this modern Lycurgus, mere human integrity of body was all that the Church required in her ministers ; but the experience of twenty years had taught Ignatius the value of good looks and good address in spiritual influence.

¹ “ *Exoptanda est sermonis gratia.* ”—*Const.* i. c. ii. ² “ *Honesta species.* ”—*Id.*

For a certainty, it seems that he had woman in view, since man is not usually caught by such tackle as a "handsome person."

The external recommendations of nobility, wealth, reputation, are not sufficient in themselves : still, as far as they conduce to edification, they enhance the fitness of the candidate.¹

There are impediments to admission besides bad looks : such as illegitimacy, previous apostacy, and heresy ; The impediments. having committed murder, or being infamous on account of some enormity ; having been a monk or hermit ; being married, a slave, or partially insane. These are stringent impediments ; but the Pope or the General of the Society can grant dispensation, when it is certain that the candidate is adorned with divine gifts, and likely to be useful to the Society, "for the service of God, our Lord."

Minor impediments are, apparently indomitable passions and a hopeless habit of sin, inconstancy of mind, "a defective judgment, or manifest pertinacity, which usually gives great trouble to all congregations."²

Among the curious questions to be put to candidates are the following :—Whether any of his ancestors were heretics ? Whether his parents are alive ?—their name, condition as to wealth or poverty, their occupation. Whether he has ever been in pecuniary difficulties, or is bound by any claim to his parents or relatives ? Whether, discarding his own opinion and judgment, he will leave that point to the judgment of his superior, or the Society ? How many brothers he has ?—their situation, whether married or otherwise, their occupation or manner of life ? With regard to himself, whether he has

¹ Const. part i. c. ii.

² Ibid. c. iii.

uttered words that may seem to have pledged him to marry ? Whether he has had, or has, a son ?

A severe scrutiny as to his spiritual bent, faith, and conscience, follows this domestic inquisition.

If the candidate has any property, he must promise to "leave all," without delay, at the command of his superior, after he has been a year in the novitiate.

But he is to resign his property to the "*poor*;" —for the Gospel says, "Give to the *poor*,"—

How the novice is to "leave all."

not to relatives. The reason is assigned : for thus he will give a better example of having put off all inordinate love towards his parents, and will avoid the usual unpleasantness of distribution, which proceeds from the said love ; and thus the opening to a return to his parents and relatives, and to their very remembrance, being closed beforehand, he may persevere firmly and fixedly in his vocation. He may give something to his relatives ; but this must be left entirely to the discretion and judgment of the superior, and those who are appointed by him to investigate the claim for relief or benefaction.

All ready money that he may have must be given up, to be returned to him should he leave, or be found unfit for, the Society.

Any defect in the integrity of the body, disease, debility, or remarkable deformity, being too young or too old, or bound by civil obligations or debt, constitute minor impediments ; but in these cases, as in the major impediments, the Society can grant dispensations.

The conclusion resulting from these premises is that the Jesuit was to be a picked man — no ordinary plodder on the beaten track of predication. We see the earnest of efficient propagandism, the prevalent obstacles to which are

The Jesuit should be a "picked man."

effectually obviated. Ignatius beheld the evil of his times, and he invented the remedy. In after times, in modern times, at the present time, there is reason to believe that "dispensations" in these matters were and have been freely given ; but the men who established the Society in its primitive efficiency were formed according to the letter of the law, and were perfect in their calling :—"a simpleton, though a Jesuit,"¹ may have its modern application ; but the misfortune is the result of abuse ; according to the original plan of the Institute, a Jesuit should be no ordinary man.

Admitted to the novitiate, the Jesuit's training began. Through the "Spiritual Exercises" of the founder, he was made to proceed as a first trial, and then, for two entire years, he remained under the same watchful eyes which marked his first failings, earnest to correct or direct them into the right channel. Constant occupation for body and soul is here given : the novice is never idle. His pride, his self-love, his will, are subjected to trials on every occasion ; and, if charity tempers the cold blast of humiliation, it must still reach the soul. The novices are employed in every menial occupation of the house, in which there are no servants but themselves. The son of a nobleman and the son of a peasant may be seen brushing shoes together, cleaning knives and forks, scrubbing bricks and boards, or digging potatoes.

Even in his dress, the novice is humbled ; cast-off habiliments invest the pious exercitant ; but he is right well fed, because he must be healthy and strong to do the work of a Jesuit.

¹ Words applied by Voltaire to the Jesuit Berruyer, of whom we shall subsequently speak. See Volt. Dict. Phil. t. x. Hist.

The mental occupation of the novice is the study of spirituality, or "Christian perfection." He learns how to meditate. He acquires the habit of thought, self-possession, self-restraint, and, perhaps, self-delusion; for, at every step, the all-sufficiency of *obedience* is preached to him, and disobedience is denounced with awful solemnity. In his superior, the novice is sedulously taught to behold the Lord: in obeying he performs the will of God. The perfection of obedience may be said to be the one thing needful in the novice of the Jesuits. It must extend over the whole man—the will, and understanding. All that he is must be, in the hands of his superior, as a carcase, as plastic wax, as an old man's walking-stick. These are the metaphors invented by Ignatius to characterise the obedience of a Jesuit. In theory, it is freely promised by the novice: it must be his endeavour to exhibit it in practice. Unless we take it for granted that the superior will never "err," by passion, or interest, or expediency, so entire a prostration of the will and understanding is liable to great abuses. Whatever God may ordain, is necessarily to be done, however repugnant to our ideas of justice or morality. To expostulate is to disobey. Now, if God's place is to be supplied by the superior, the same result must follow, without the certain guarantee of infallibility. To say that God will not permit the superior to err, is an assertion which I can neither positively deny nor admit. All other explanations and distinctions respecting the obedience of the Jesuits, are clever sophisms which may suit their purpose, but cannot reach the root of the objection.¹ The novices strive,

¹ Here follow three of the rules of the novices, but for the general observance of the Jesuits:—Rule 34. "At the voice of the superior, just as if it came from

and not in vain, to attain this perfection of obedience. To speak from experience, I confess that there were moments of enthusiasm, when I would have deemed all things lawful at the word of my superior. It may well be said by Hasenmüller, that the novices "have as many Christs as they have rulers and labourers."¹ This delusion sweetens the bitterest humiliation, lightens the heaviest burthen, beautifies the foulest occupation. What a state of trial for a thoughtful soul is the Jesuit novitiate. The menial occupations, the drudgeries of domestic labour, are alleviations—recreations in that solitude of the heart. Those were happiest who were most mechanical. The thoughtful, who reasoned unto conclusions, who penetrated the tendencies of all the regimen, bitterly felt the poison as it spread over mind and heart, transforming them entirely. Public punishments were awarded to public faults : private irregularities were expiated by public penances. These consisted in kneeling with arms outstretched, in kissing the feet of the brothers in a hundred humiliating ways, devised by holy obedience. Every novice had a monitor, and was monitor to another, whose faults he had to observe

Christ the Lord, we must be most ready, leaving everything whatsoever, even a letter of the alphabet unfinished, though begun." Rule 35 : "To this scope let us turn all our efforts and intention in the Lord, in order that holy obedience may be always and entirely perfect in us, as well in the execution, as in the will and understanding : doing whatever shall have been enjoined us, with great celerity, spiritual joy and perseverance ; persuading ourselves that all things are just ; abnegating all opinion and judgment of our own contrary thereto, with a certain blind obedience." Rule 36 : "Let each member persuade himself, that those who wish to live under obedience, ought to suffer themselves to be borne along and governed by Divine Providence through the superiors, just as if they were a corpse, which may be borne as we please, and permits itself to be handled any how ; or like an old man's stick, which everywhere serves any purpose that he who holds it chuses to employ it in." Summ. Const. Const. part vi. c. i.

¹ "Tot Christos habent quot opera vel regulas."—*Hist.* c. v.

and declare to him and the superior. Besides his weekly confession to his superior, each novice had to manifest the state of his conscience, his particular vices and inclinations, to the Provincial at stated times. The manifestation was not made under the seal of confession : it was understood to be available in any way that might be deemed proper by the authorities. This requisition might have some effect in forcing the novice to stifle his propensities ; but it might also generate that desperate cunning which thinks it can cheat conscience without falling short of perfection.

I have elsewhere¹ described the domestic life of the novices in these our days. I shall now lay before the reader the account given of it by Hasenmüller, a seceding Jesuit, about forty years after the establishment of the Society. By comparing the two narratives, it will be found that age makes little difference with the practices of the Jesuits. Two hundred and fifty years have elapsed since Hasenmüller published his experience. In reading much of it, I was carried back to my own novice days, on the banks of the Hodder, in the North of England. "In the summer at four, in the winter at five o'clock of the morning, they rise at the sound of a bell. Should any remain sleeping in bed,—which happens rather often,—and they be caught by the visitor, a penance is enjoined them. The rector sends for the delinquent, reprimands him for his drowsiness and disobedience, and says, 'During dinner, you will take your bed, carry it to the refectory, and perform the usual penance, which may cure your drowsiness.' The signal for dinner being given, and grace being said, when the fathers and brothers have taken their seats, the poor

¹ See "The Novitiate ; or the Jesuit in Training."

fellow, with his bed on his shoulders, walks into the middle of the refectory, and falling on his knees, says : — ‘ Reverend Fathers, dearest Brothers, I tell you my fault, that this morning I slept beyond the hour, wherefore this small penance has been enjoined me, that I shall bring my bed three times into the refectory, and sleep till dinner is ended, and carry back my bed, and get my dinner at the small table.’ Whereupon he carries his bed three times round the refectory, then lays him down upon it, and sleeps, if he likes, whilst the other brothers laugh and eat. Such is the penance for too much sleep. Having risen, the first rule is for them to make their beds. An hour of meditation and prayer follows ; and then they must clean their cells. For breaking this rule the same penance as before must be performed, except that, whilst the brothers are dining, the delinquent goes and sweeps his cell. Should any of them fall asleep during the hour of prayer and meditation, their penance is, during dinner, to fall on their knees in the midst of the refectory, and show how they rolled their heads from side to side in their irregular nap. After meditation, all hear mass with reverence and decorum ; but if any make a noise with their hands, feet, or rosaries, or gaze through the windows, their penance is, during dinner, to kiss the feet of the fathers and brothers, and take their food under the table, or at the rector’s feet, and then, mounting on a bench and pushing their heads through the window, show the brothers how they gazed through the rails. After mass, they hear a lecture, which all must listen to attentively. Should any fall asleep, or talk, or laugh, they must exhibit the same irregularities in the refectory as the former, showing how they slept, and talked, and laughed.”

None of these crimes occurred in the English novitiate, or if any irregularity approached them, a psalm to be rehearsed with arms outstretched, kissing the feet all round, dining on the knees, kneeling for their cup to be filled by a brother, were the penances invented by holy obedience, and selected by the delinquents, as it were by inspiration. English notions dispensed with the hugely ridiculous in the work of penance. "After the lecture, the father minister distributes the occupations and domestic labours. At his approach, all rush to him. He stands in the midst and appoints the functions. To one he says : You go and help the cook. To another : Help the store-keeper. To others : Fetch wood : Bring water : Clean the dishes : Lay the table : Wash the cups. Should any one wish to humble himself more than the rest, and, as the rule enjoins 'to seek the things to which the senses are repugnant,' he goes to the rector, falls on his knees, and begs to be intrusted with the 'office of humility,' which is the foulest imaginable, and not to be mentioned, though it was commonly enjoined in the English novitiate, yet not exactly to the extent described by Hasenmüller. "The 'master of manners' follows and observes the workers. Slothfulness and levity are duly penanced, by the delinquent's being ordered to weed a brother's garden, and prune the trees. In this occupation, should he imitate or respond to a bird giving voice overhead, he must tell his fault in the refectory, and imitate aloud the sound three or four times again.¹ If a novice breaks a dish, or other vessel, his penance is to gather the pieces, tie them together,

¹ "Eodem gestus et cantus edere, quos in horto exprimebat ter igitur aut quater circumrit in refectorio et altâ voce clamat Cuc, Cuc, Cuc, Cuc, (risum teneatis, lectores, dum et ipse cuculum istum imitor)."—*Hasenm.* Hist. c. v.

and walk round the refectory with the load suspended from his neck Although these things are frivolous, childish, ridiculous, and ostentatious, yet the Jesuits say that they will receive in heaven as many crowns as they have performed penances : nay, that these works are meritorious to eternal life, if they perform them in the intention of the Society, and in obedience to the superior. They have therefore as many Christs as they have works and rules." "Twice a-day they examine their consciences, before dinner and supper. At a given sign, the novices assemble and proceed to the appointed place, where, for the space of a half, or quarter of an hour, on their knees before some image, they probe their consciences, and try the spirit. Those who can write, note down in a list all their sins of thought, words, deeds, and omissions, so as to confess them on the Saturday to the rector, who may thus know all the secrets of his disciples. For this purpose, they use a diary, as follows, entering their sins each day of the week :—

SUNDAY. SINS OF THOUGHT.	WEDNESDAY. SINS OF OMISION.
MONDAY. SINS OF WORDS.	THURSDAY. SINS AGAINST THE RULES.
TUESDAY. SINS OF DEEDS.	FRIDAY. NEGLECT OF PENANCE.
SATURDAY. FAULTS IN CONFESSION.	

They must practise the rules advised by Ignatius in the book of the "Spiritual Exercises :"—I. As often as a man commits the same kind of fault or sin, he must apply his hand to his breast and grieve for his fall, which may be done without being noticed by others. II. At night, having counted the dots on the two lines, corresponding to the sins or faults committed, and calling them to mind during the two examinations of conscience, he must see if any improvement has taken place. III. He must compare each day with the preceding, and observe the improvement, if any. IV. He must compare two weeks together, and note the result."

Such is the process through which a novice of the Jesuits marches to perfection. Whatever spirit of piety may accompany the exercitant through the tedious period, must depend on his organisation : the certain result is the habit of obedience, prostrate submission in the will and understanding. And that is the object of the trial.¹

After the expiry of the two probationary years, the novice takes the three vows, and proceeds to the house of the Scholars of the Society, where he pursues his studies, which are totally discontinued during the novitiate. The languages, logic, natural and moral philosophy, enter into the course ; the time allotted for each being unlimited, and dependant on the judgment of the rector after examination. As the scholars cannot excel in all these

The studies
of the
Scholastici.

¹ For ample details on the subject I must refer the reader to the work before mentioned. The Day's Occupation in the English Novitiate, in 1838, scarcely differed in a single point with that of the Jesuit novitiates in the *sixteenth* century ! See Hasenmüller, ch. v.

faculties, each must be made to excel in some one or other of them, according to his age, genius, inclination, and previous acquirements.¹

In the books of heathen writers nothing must be read that can offend decency: they must be expurgated, and the society will "use the remnants as the spoils of Egypt,"—ut spoliis *Ægypti Societas uti poterit*.² On the other hand, the foulest obscenities are opened to the student when advanced to the study of casuistry,—obscenities infinitely more exciting to the imagination than the expurgated passages of the ancient classics, which, with these exceptions, inculcate a sterner morality than some of the books of the Jesuit-casuists.³

Even books written by Christians, although good in themselves, are not to be read, if the author be a suspected character, lest there should result a partiality for the author. In every department, such books as may or may not be read, must be determined by the authorities.⁴

All impediments to study must be removed, whether resulting from devotional practices, or mortifications carried to excess, or unreasonably practised.

There must be a library common to all: but its key must be confided to those whom the rector may consider

¹ Const. part iv.

² Ibid.

³ This comparison has been made, and largely discussed in the work entitled, "A Parallel of the Doctrines of the Pagans with the Doctrine of the Jesuits," written in French. There is an English translation, London, 1726. The subject will be subsequently considered.

⁴ A similar proscription of Christian books was subsequently enforced by Pope Pius V. It was called the *Index*, and still exists. In 1775, there were about 20,000 works forbidden to the faithful. The works of Galileo, Copernicus, and Boerhaave, were put "on the Index," but subsequently taken off, when the Pope consented to the earth's motion, &c. Diet. Hist. de l'Ital. p. 591.

trustworthy, and each student is to have what books are necessary.

Assiduity in the classes, repetitions of what they have learned, the solution of difficulties that may result, public disputations, private conferences,—these train the Jesuit-mind, and give it that perfection which induced the philosopher to exclaim :—“*Talis quàm sis, utinàm noster esses,*”—being such as thou art, would that thou were ours !¹

The Latin language is to be commonly spoken, and perfection in style is to be acquired by diligent practice. This, of course, applies to the times when that language was the general vehicle of intellectual wares and baggage.

The student's emulation must be exerted by competition. Two students are to be selected and made to enter the lists against each other by a “holy challenge,” *sanctâ emulatione se invicem provocent*. A specimen of their composition must be sent to the provincial or head of the province, or to the general at Rome.² Competition is the soul of trade : competition is the warrior's impulse : competition is the statesman's goad. It is also the polemic's spur ; and was therefore applied to the young Jesuit, whose battle-field was to be the land, the universal land of Heresy.

Emulation
excited.

The Jesuit-method of intellectual training will require

¹ Bacon (quoting the words of Agesilaus to Pharnabazus), in his treatise *De Dign. et Augm. Scient.* Bacon's admiration was extended to Jesuit “cunning” as well. He says :—“It is a point of cunning to wait upon him with whom you speak, with your eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept ; for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances : yet this would be done with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.”—*Essays*: Of Canning.

² Const. part iv.

a lengthened discussion. It will be given in its proper place—about fifty years after the foundation of the Company. Rapidly the Jesuits attained their perfection in the art, rapidly they produced its striking results : but some little time and magnificent prospects were required to devise the scheme. Ignatius had little or nothing to do with the Jesuit-intellect. It was the Jesuit *will* that *he* fashioned for extraordinary achievement—and much more by example—by practice than by theory. But he knew by painful experience that intellectual training was indispensable to the spiritual warrior, and he prescribed it for his Company. To others more competent than himself he left the construction of the Jesuit-gymnasium. To himself he reserved the Will and its action : to others he left the Intellect and its products.

But mental culture and spiritual practice are not sufficient to insure adequate members to the Company.

Dismissal
from the
Society.

Those who suit it no longer must be expelled, cast away. The power of dismissal is granted by the general specially to the various provincials, and local superiors and rectors—in order that in the whole body of the Company, the subjection of holy obedience may continue—so that the inferiors may clearly know that they depend on their superiors ; and that it becomes them very much, yea is necessary for them, to be submissive to their superiors in all things Caution, however, is advised in the matter of dismissal ; and that caution is to be increased according to the rank which the delinquent holds in the Company : in important cases the general must be consulted. Observe, a case becomes important not by the *guilt* of the delinquent, but his *rank* in the

Company,¹ his services, and his talents.² These last considerations were subsequent devices of the congregations. They are not to be found in the edition of 1558, two years after the death of the founder. All that appeared in that edition has been retained, though with many verbal alterations; but more is added, and among the rest, the above expedient devices. More of this in the sequel. "How far certain faults, which are said to be contrary to the Divine honour and the Company's good, ought to be tolerated, as this depends upon many particular circumstances of persons, times, and places, it must be left to the discreet zeal of those to whom that charge is committed, who shall the more diligently commend the matter to God, and take counsel of others who can aid in discovering God's will, in proportion as the case shall seem difficult and doubtful."³ This follows the original promulgation, where we find, as a motive for dismissal, "if it be judged in the Lord, contrary to his honour and glory to retain in the Company the man who may appear to be incorrigibly addicted to certain depraved propensities and vices, which offend the Divine Majesty."⁴ We admire the prudence, the worldly wisdom of the subsequent declaration: but we applaud the rigid morality of the original mandate. The other motives for dismissal are sufficiently obvious, and amount to this, that all must be expelled who fail in their probation, or be subsequently found useless, or prove scandalous and turbulent subjects. A previous bond of matrimony, the state of legal slavery, or being in debt for a large amount, will, when discovered, constitute motives for dismissal. Disease or debility supervening

¹ Const. part ii. c. i.

² Const. part ii. c. 2. A.

³ *Declarationes*, to the same.

⁴ *Ibid.* c. ii. § 2.

in the probation, operates to the same result "if it is probable" that the chronic patient "cannot advance in his studies according to our Institute and method of proceeding in the furtherance of God's service ;" and you will not be surprised that dismissal must ensue "when the probationer cannot settle himself to a *life of obedience*—to be regulated according to the Society's manner of proceeding—if he cannot, or will not, *subject his own opinions and judgment.*"¹ But disease contracted in the Company's service does not come under the ban : "for then, if he is not content to be dismissed, it would not be just to dismiss him on *that count alone*," adds an expedient declaration ;² and the same codicil to the original Will transmits a promulgation of vast historical importance. It is emphatically declared that "As it is not necessary to dismiss a member so much on account of the nature and magnitude of his *sin*, as for the purpose of removing the *scandal* which has resulted—this being the case, should he be qualified in other respects, the Superior's prudence will consider whether it be expedient to permit him to go to some other very remote district of the Company, without dismissal."³ Very soon the Company adopted this expedient method of shrouding her moral calamities by this sort of Botany-bay relief to the mother-country. In the country of the blind, says the proverb, a one-eyed man is a king : on the same principle, in the land of the heathen

¹ Const. part ii. c. ii. § 4.

² "Tunc enim, si ipsemet contentus non esset, justum non foret, hæc solâ causâ à Societate dimitti."—*Ibid.* B.

³ "Quando non tam propter rationem vel magnitudinem peccati, quam ob removendum offendiculum, quod aliis præbuit, dimitti aliquem necesse esset ; si aliqui aptus esset, expendet prudentia Superioria, an expediat facultatem ei dare, ut ad locum alium Societatis valdè remotum, eandem non egrediendo, proficiatur."—*Ibid.* D.

an infamous Jesuit is an apostle. Nor are *modern* times without such spots darkening the radiant sun of the Society of Jesus—for, as another proverb tells, “accidents will happen in the best regulated families.” A word to the wise is sufficient for them.

Dismissal is to take place as privately as possible, so as to cherish the good-will of the delinquent towards the Company ; and aid should be given him to embrace some other state of life ; charity should give him her hand at his departure, and defend his memory in his absence.¹ Such was the *original* idea ; but subsequent facts seemed to have dried up the fountain of charity and forbearance. Power gives pride, and pride breeds intolerance. If in all your means and measures you cannot defy scrutiny, keep a sharp look out on your secretary. Repentance and reform would be better ; but if these do not suit your convenience, you *must* adopt the Jesuit-method, as follows :—

Those who leave the Society of their own accord are not to be sought after, unless for very good reasons ; “should they be such as we should not thus resign—particularly if they seem to have left on account of some violent temptation, or deceived from without, by others—we may endeavour to bring them back, making use of the privileges conceded to us for this purpose by the Apostolic See.” The *privilege* alluded to pronounces excommunication *ipso facto* against any Jesuit who returns to the world after taking the vows. By another such mandate, eight days are allowed him to return, under penalty of excommunication ; and all who aid, advise, or abet the fugitive, are obnoxious to the same penalty.

¹ Const. part vi. c. vii.

By another mandate, the general and other superiors can summarily, and without the form of judgment, reclaim, take and imprison the fugitive, and compel him to do penance, just as if he were an apostate, calling in the aid of the secular arm ; nay, even those dismissed from the Society, unless they enter some *other order* with permission of the general, the provincial, or the pope, are forbidden to hear confessions, teach, or preach, under penalty of excommunication.¹

Those who are dismissed for crime, must be first punished, even by imprisonment,² and are thus effectually silenced by disgrace, should they meditate inexpedient disclosures.

Should any members disclose the grave and hidden faults of "Our Men" (*Nostrorum*), they must be severely punished ;—the conscience of superiors is, in this matter, charged to investigate the fact, and not to spare public punishment in the case of public offences.³

These severe enactments, with others that might be quoted, seem to scoff with the hiss of contempt at the words of the Constitutions, where the spirit of mildness is enjoined in dismissal, *without exception, omnino, in spiritu mansuetudinis* procedere.⁴

Even in this country these enactments would have been enforced, did the Jesuits not dread the law of the land. What wonder then that the secrets of this Society have so rarely transpired, at a time when such terrible penalties in all their apostolical horrors hung over the

¹ Const. part ii. ; Comp. Priv. *Apostate*. See also Canon. Sept. Cong. Gen. xiii. §§ 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

² Sept. Cong. D. xxii. § 6.

³ Ibid. xii.

⁴ Const. part ii. c. iv. § 5. All the superiors have the power "to inflict corrections and punishments ;" provided they are deliberate and mature, "they may proceed freely" in the matter—*liberè procedere possunt*. Comp. Privil. v. *Corredio*.

head of the fugitive. In effect, the greatest vigilance prevailed in all departments. Whatever could enhance the fair fame of the Company was given to the winds of Heaven, as their multitudinous "Lives" of their saints and heroes, and their "annual," their "curious and edifying, Letters" attest; *but* the slightest rumour of disgrace was intolerable: to the dungeons of the Society it was consigned, with its possessor, to rot in solitude, and perish with his name. The fate intended for *Melchior Inchofer*, a member of the Society, who only metaphorically exposed her abuses, the fate of *death* awarded to him by the general and his assistants, was providentially averted, as we shall read in the sequel; but the terrible letter of the law is enough to convince us that it was not passed in vain, nor obtained as a "privilege" without steady and resolute infliction.

Such are the prominent features of the Jesuit-Institute. The despotic aristocrat, Richelieu, termed the Constitutions of the Jesuits a model of administrative policy,—words signifying nothing; for, surely, *any* form of government can rule men if they can be induced to bind themselves by a vow of perfect obedience, and be made to keep it, being kept in awe by penalties similar to that of expulsion from the Society of Jesus in the day of her glory. The perfection of a government consists in its ensuring the greatest possible freedom of thought and action, compatible with all interests, individual and collective; where the spirit of "party" is left to its own resources, without the arm of statutes to "protect" its selfishness; where the mental and corporeal energies of men may attain their greatest development,—with the rewards of labour adequate to maintain the mind in comfort and the body in satisfaction;

in a word, where men may seek and find their position as destined by their organisation—the only guarantee of happiness in the social state. The Jesuit-Institute pre-supposes too many difficult premises for the conclusion of that great argument. It is only when we have thoroughly meditated the endless adaptability of the human mind that we can conceive it possible for a man to live contented under such a domination. As a system of monkhood, it is undoubtedly the cleverest that has ever been, and, it is to be hoped, ever will be invented or concocted. Its mechanical products in all the departments of human action must be referred to the endless adaptability of the human mind, to which, positively, *any* motive is sufficient to eventuate the greatest exertion in any given circumstances. The book of “Spiritual Exercises” is a more remarkable production than the “Constitutions.” The former, in practice, effectuates that frame of mind without which the Constitutions would be powerless, excepting where its *penalties* can operate on the basest organisations. It is the training under their constant influence which stamps or moulds every Jesuit, with unerring exactness, as to the various mental qualities that enter into his composition. In effect, what have Ignatius and his followers done in the Constitutions, but expand the primitive ideas of his spiritual strategy, forming his legion, giving it a head to command obedient soldiers—obedient by every possible motive that can promote and ensure human action? But the natural cleverness of the founder is still brilliant in the prominent essentials of his Institute. Let us consider: Luther had raised his mighty voice—its echoes were still resounding—against the avarice of the hierarchy-priests and prelates. Ignatius stipulated for

no pay to *his* troops, however important might be their functions. The monks were out of date, if not contemptible ; but Ignatius soon convinced the cardinals that nothing was further from his intention than to institute an Order of monks ; his Jesuits would wear the dress of ordinary ecclesiastics, or totally conform to that of the people among whom they lived. Here was another capital idea, and of wonderful use in after times. There was to be no public rehearsal or chaunting of the breviary among the Jesuits,—in other words, no canonical hours. The Jesuits, like Figaro, must be here, there, and everywhere. This was a bold innovation, but it took place in the age of Luther, when only bold ideas could cope with the rising spirit of the times. The Jesuits were to be select men, clever and good-looking, active, healthy, and determined in their vocation ; vast lovers of their Institute, whose prime duty was to withstand and check the progress of the Reformation ; and, lastly, the Jesuits were placed under the immediate protection and patronage of the pope, who, as we have seen, was just in need of such a band.

So much for the sagacity of this first Jesuit, as to the means he took for securing patronage in the right quarter—means which depended only on himself and his followers to remain in constant activity. But look within—see how he thumb-screws the novice, and yet preserves the integrity of the man—whatever that may be—keeping his distinctive passions alive, only directing their energies to “spiritual objects,” that is, all which concerned the Company—its “temporal and eternal,” between which there was, indeed, little or no “difference,”—making the practice of “religion” a veritable

Individual
tastes and
passions con-
sulted and
allowed for.

new nature to him, easier than any other ; and the habit once gained he wore it as you wear a garment. And to Holy Obedience what allurements were given in the fact that it would procure all things for the Jesuit, both here and hereafter ; every necessary comfort of body ; every gratification of mind, *if* he would only, by one gigantic effort, throw himself, without reserve, into the gulf of her collective interests, which constituted *her* "interests"—the portentous "party" of religionists. Thus unreservedly resigned, in *theory*—for that was all—he was certain that his individual ambition, or "interest," would be completely consulted : for very rarely did the Jesuits misplace their workers. Throughout their history we shall very rarely find "square pegs in round holes, or round pegs in square ones."

Those who were essentially religious by organisation, found, in the Society, ample food for their yearning ; and the Society proposed to them a thousand motives for the cultivation of their delightful garden ; that beautiful Eden, where no forbidden fruit of temptation could allure. These "spiritualists" of the Society were ever the adornments of which she could boast, and the world was compelled to admit their claims to admiration. The Society used them, in their innocence and simplicity, as a foil against her rancorous enemies. They were the "ten just men" in her Sodom. Meanwhile, the penalties for disobedience, the manifestation of conscience, the declaration of each other's faults, promoted exact discipline in the letter of the law, just as the former motives alluded to, kept alive its spirit. Or, if the Jesuit indulged his corrupt nature, how strong were his motives for imitating the cunning Spartan, who was permitted "to

The spirit
and the
letter of
the Law.

carry off things by stealth," but severely punished if in the fact detected.

Ignatius isolated his Company: he made it strong by union, by suppressing the hopes of individual ambition:—the Jesuit vowed never to receive any ecclesiastical dignity—in fact, he vowed from the very first to live and die in the Society.¹ She made her men for her own use. Only imperative circumstances—only manifest expediency could induce her to permit an exception to that rule of her Constitutional grammar. Besides the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, the Jesuit takes six other vows relating to his Institute. Three of these refer to the rejection of dignities *extra societatem*, out of the Society. He vows to reject them unless compelled by the obedience which he owes to him who can command him under penalty of sin—*nisi coactum obedientiâ ejus qui mihi præcipere potest sub pœnâ peccati*. By this only the Pope is meant, not the General of the Society, not the congregation of Cardinals during an interregnum. He also vows to denounce all who canvass for those dignities. And further, to ensure ulterior contingents, he vows, in case he becomes a bishop, to "listen to the advice of the General and

How the
Company is
isolated.

¹ Here follows the formula of the simple vows:—"Omnipotent Eternal God ! I, N., although in every respect most unworthy of thy Divine presence, still, confiding in thy infinite bounty and mercy, and impelled by the desire of serving thee,—Vow, in the presence of the most holy Virgin Mary and thy universal celestial court, to thy Divine Majesty, Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience perpetual, in the Society of Jesus ; and I promise to enter that Society in order to live and die in it—*ut vitam in eâ perpetuò degam*—taking all things in the sense of the Constitutions of the same Society. Of thy immense bounty and clemency, therefore, through the blood of Jesus Christ, I pray and beseech that thou wouldst vouchsafe to accept this holocaust in the odour of sweetness ; and as thou hast granted me the desire, and permitted the offering, so mayst thou grant me also the plentiful grace to fulfil it. Amen."

others of the Society. True, he only vows to "listen" to the advice, not to seek it—not even to follow it in case he has better; but who can fail to perceive that the result must be as contemplated by the vow, nay, by the organisation of a Jesuit?¹ To other monks, their Order was but a stepping-stone to the dignities of the Church. The bonds which held them to it were easily sundered. The Order was, as it were, common property; a common store-house of ecclesiastical functionaries. Party-spirit indeed actuated the Order, but it was comparatively powerless when its largest figures could be subtracted and posted in another ledger, where other *debts* required a *per contra*. To the Jesuit, however, his Society was a Maelstrom: she sucked him down entirely, or threw him up, as she listed. He belonged to her: she did not belong to him. She would reward him according to his "merits;" woe to him if *he* attempted to make her a "stepping-stone." This points at once to the main characteristic of the Jesuit-Company—its loudly, uncompromising *aristocracy*—the source and end of all her power, and of all her machinations. The great body of Jesuits were servants of the general and of the favoured few, comparatively speaking, who voted, like Venetian Senators, in the General Congregations—the *Professi* of the Company. Soon, very soon we shall find that aristocracy established in practice: but it resulted directly from the theory of the Constitutions—the organisation of the Society. No

¹ The extraordinary vows are as follows. 1. To go to any "Mission" in obedience to the pope. 2. Not to permit any relaxation in the vow of Poverty. 3. Not to procure any dignities in the Society. 4, 5, and 6. Those I have mentioned in the text. A seventh is also named, but it is included in the first formula, namely, to enter the Society, and accept any post assigned to him by the general. See Arsdekin, Theol. Trip. tom. ii., part ii., tract I., c. vi., art. v.

greater source of abuse could exist. It was utterly inconsistent with that humility which best beseeemed them as religious men—bearing the name of Him who used not even the power he possessed, except to raise those beneath Him to a seat beside Him, in his kingdom. Other Orders of monks were republics—democracies, and nothing the better for *that*. All the superiors, and the generals themselves, remained in place for a limited time only. At the end of two or three years, a chapter or assembly, a general Congregation would raise up new subjects, and displace the old officials. It was a time of glorious excitement. The approach of these assemblies excited in the cloisters an universal fermentation, roused desires, filled hearts with hope and fear, engrossing every mind. The great mass of the Jesuits had nothing to do in the election of their general, except to pray for a good one, of which, however, they were to be no judges. Perhaps nothing was more quietly managed than the election of a general among the Jesuits. If he was not chosen by the Virgin Mary, as was Aquaviva, according to Nieremberg,¹ the aristocrats of the Company soon came to a determination, which was only the result of a small majority, almost always certain before its declaration. Once elected, the general ruled for life in absolute sway—surrounded by his “assistants,” aided by all his *Professi*, in a word, in the centre of his aristocracy. If he was an Aquaviva he might make himself some trouble, as we shall find in the sequel : but when the number of *Professi* increased, and the Company was culminating on her meridian, the reins were slackened, and the general might bite his nails as he beheld the distant but coming

¹ Vida de S. Ignacio, c. 18.

cloud, fraught with doomed calamity. When the aristocracy rose in its might, the Company rolled on her troubled ocean like a ship whose ballast has canted. That was the time when the tide turned against the Jesuits : the time when they no longer deemed it necessary to seek above all the approbation of their general.

The enjoined care in the choice of officials is worthy of notice. These were to be, and generally were emphatically,

The choice of officials. men of business—cool heads and icy hearts.

Cheminais, Bourdaloue, Segneri, were always simple subjects of the Society, esteemed, but powerless. The Company was proud to number them amongst her members : she enjoyed their glory as wealth that belonged to her. She flung their reputation in the face of those carpens whom other members, less estimable, attracted ; but she gave them no authority. The reason might be, that those minds, *unhardened* by the charms of literature, would not possess the requisite firmness, or that, having become too much enlightened by study, they would not evince that docility which was exacted. They were appointed to teach, but not to govern men : from all times of the Society, the men employed have been old theologians, practised from their youth upwards in the subtleties of the Schools, accustomed by the long experience of the confessional to distinguish and direct all the movements of the heart, after having become, by oft-repeated trials, as capable of obeying with suppleness as of commanding with authority. Such we shall find, to the letter, the princes of this monarchy : such were the Cottons, the Lachaises, the Leteliers, so renowned in French history. But their fame is the result of their intrigues. Who has ever heard of the sermons of Cotton, the theological lessons of Lachaise,

the books of Letellier ? These men had only one kind of talent—that of “stirring” minds with skill : they were elevated to posts where they could display their talent with effect. Of course there resulted always from such appointments, a damaging prejudice against a Society to which nothing was useless, and which, distributing her employments amongst all her children, confided to some the care of extending her glory by labours which command applause, to others that of strengthening her power by machinations which the interest of the public found it impossible to endure.¹

Other abuses, closely allied to perfections, will be pointed out as we proceed. I have anticipated times and their workers, in order to stimulate the mind of the reader to draw conclusions from facts as we advance together. I return to Ignatius and his primitive outline. The grand “merit” of the “Constitutions” is, that they lay a foundation and build round about the “hanging garden” of the “Spiritual Exercises,” and sustain the props thereof,—or, like the banian tree, always striking in new roots and striking out new branches. Herein is the focus of my admiration of this wonderful Spaniard. He may never have guessed, imagined, or foreseen that the voluntary beggars of his order would rise to the right hand of princes, sway the destinies of nations, and frighten the world with a new terror. But he has the merit of having laid the foundation of a superstructure that might have permanently benefitted mankind, had he been less of a bigot, less of a soldier, less of a Spaniard, less of a monk. Still he was a shrewd man, yet full of imagination ; a calculator, and yet no gambler in human chances. Another Lycurgus he was : but a Lycurgus

The grand
“merit” of
the Constitu-
tions.

¹ Linguet, *Hist. Impart. des Jesuites*, t. i.

of a deeper mould and higher power—since he was a child of Christianity—a child of the Church. He was a man of one idea : too much learning had not made him mad. His was a Spanish will, which means a haughty, indomitable will, that would have bridged the Red Sea, if the waters had not parted. “ If by ordinary means I cannot succeed,” said he once, “ I *will sell myself* rather than disband my German phalanx ! ” ¹

The praise of extraordinary *devotion* cannot be denied him : all his practices, his visions and spiritual visitations, his subsequent miracles, attest the fact (to the Ignatius characterised. Catholic) ; but with these excellences he had others. His mind was endowed with the cunning of the fox, (so elegant in his manœuvres,) with the constructiveness of the spider, (so persevering in her toil,) with the sagacity of the elephant, (so clever with his proboscis,) and the cool, sound common sense of Oliver Cromwell, who both knew how to make and manage fanatics, to serve a purpose. Ignatius was no fanatic, nor was Oliver Cromwell. Both had ends to accomplish, and they knew the right way thereto : both had ambition—that of Ignatius merits the greater approbation ; for, after all, he gained what nobody lost, which cannot be said of Oliver Cromwell.

Ignatius made his religion the basis of his monarchy : thus he possessed an appeal to a motive as omnipotent as it is inexplicable. Convince a man that he works for God and with God, and he will believe himself omnipotent. His belief will be the most reasonable in the world—if we assume all that he takes for granted. Now, Ignatius inspired his followers with this belief : Mohammed did the same : Cromwell did the same : and all lived to triumph. They were

The basis of
his monarchy.

¹ Bouhours, &c.

therefore extraordinary men, and by no means stark mad, as people called them, or *simple* fanatics.

See how Ignatius catches at the spirit of his times. His monarchy had talents of the highest order for its rampart and defence. He doubted the general efficiency of universal talent: he would seize the salient point of intellect—the peculiar talent (which every man has) and fortify it by a well-directed and exclusive exercise. What was the result? As a mechanician has a lever for one movement, a screw for another, a wedge for a third, a pulley for a fourth,—so had Ignatius an orator for one enterprise, a statesman for another, (though he eschewed politics), a philosopher for a third, a deep-toned moralist for a fourth, and—observe the important fact—a *gentleman* for all. The novices have rules of politeness to study, and the Jesuits were generally, if not always, conspicuous for their gentlemanly bearing. Frivolous things, no doubt, but ask the world what they think of their *effect*.

How he catches at the spirit of the times.

Such an institution could not fail to be successful. Its success to superficial observers (the unreasonable enemy, and the open-mouthed admirer) would appear to be the result of *mere* intrigue, or *divine* interposition—“so wisely did they charm”—whereas its success was the necessary consequence of genius (which is power), acting against dulness (which is weakness), in the midst of a thousand circumstances which favoured that success. Nor was its *novelty* the least important of secondary aids.

Hac arte Pollux, et vagus Hercules
Enisus, arces attigit igneas !

The world beheld the Jesuit's work, and was astounded. The Jesuit was aware of the admiration he excited. He was also confident of the “good” he effected. Both facts stimulated to greater exertion ; achievement

became his *temptation*. And the world—the unreasonable world—taxed his energies with jealous requirements. He was expected to be a pattern of every excellence in the midst of a perverse generation. Enemies sprung up like weeds in a tropic marsh. It is useful to the wise to have enemies ; they increase vigilance and redouble exertion. Hence the comparative, if not the positive, superiority of the Jesuits in their observance of the second vow, and the exemplary conduct of multitudes among them, during the space of three hundred years. The watchfulness of their Institute, its system of mutual admonition, its manifestation of conscience, its spy system, effected this in a great measure ; but the Argus-eyes of watchful enemies gave vigour to that very system, and lent one more motive to individual integrity. How soon they made enemies ! And why ? This history will explain most of the reasons—some creditable to them, others disgraceful. Nor must their sudden success be overlooked ; nor the secrecy of their Institute. To the *externs*, as every one not a Jesuit was called, the knowledge of the Institute was forbidden without express permission of a superior.¹ The world was unreasonable enough to object to this pertinacious secrecy. Nobody has a greater right to complain of secrecy than the “world.” Soon the foulest imputations were laid to the Jesuits, and they were suspected of entertaining a very immoral system, which they were ashamed and afraid to make public. It was only their vast success that produced this clamour ; how far that success was promoted by unfair means is a different question ; but assuredly it was unreasonable to make the Jesuits bear all the blame for keeping their Institute secret, since the

¹ Reg. xxxviii.

practice was a standing order among the monks. The Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Barnabites, bound themselves to obey the same injunctions.¹ And yet why not publish the Institute? Why object to show the world both that there is nothing in it of which you are ashamed, or *on* which *other* statutes may be founded to be certainly kept secret? It will be hard to answer these questions without an appeal to other "usual practices"—which leaves the question unanswered—or without resorting to sophistry as flimsy as gauze. In point of fact, however, all the statutes of the Jesuit Institute were not *written* law—or rather not *printed*; for even in the first general congregation decrees were omitted as being "private business"—*privata tantum negotia*.² The consequence is that we stumble now and then into an hiatus, which we cannot help thinking, from both sides of it, must contain some very curious provisions; for instance, between XLVIII. . . . 34 and XLIX. . . . 36; two being omitted; and between CXL. . . . 61, and CXLI. . . . 63, two more are left out; though it is almost evident that in the former the power of the General is concerned, and in the latter the temporalities or possessions of the novices. What a pity to omit such curious topics! Assuredly these decrees would not disappoint our curiosity, so eager for "private business." They would not disappoint us as Adam Contzen, the Jesuit apologist, tells us the heretics were disappointed when they first beheld the Constitutions, brought to light by some speculating Dutch printer, about the year 1605. "Good God!" the Jesuit exclaims sarcastically, "how the preachers exulted, how our enemies shook

¹ Const. Gen. Franc. c. vi. Cleric. reg. in officio præp. Cass. reg. c. iii. p. 8.

² Non quidem omnia, sed pleraque, prætermittis videlicet iis, quæ privata tantum negotia continent. Vide "Ad Lectorem" in Decret. Cong. Gen. Ed. Ant. 1702.

hands congratulating, when in the *trade catalogue* they saw 'THE CONSTITUTIONS AND RULES OF THE JESUITS!' What a crush of buyers there were! They boasted of the hidden places of the Society being laid open—her secrets detected, penetrated to the bottom; the most recondite mysteries of Antichrist were brought to light! But iniquity lied unto herself," says Adam Contzen, "they found nothing but what was holy, pious, religious."¹ "This edition of truth, that is of the Rules," continues the Jesuit, "annulled the belief of a thousand lies; whilst the foe prepared to do us harm, he conciliated to us many thousand men." If such was really the fact, how inexpedient then was it to put under a bushel those Constitutions, and leave it for a speculating Dutchman surreptitiously to show forth to the world, all full of admiration, the "sincerity of the Society, her most holy scope, and the integrity of her laws."²

In the estimation of the Jesuits, at least, there was nothing wonderful in the fierce hostility they encountered. Long before—during Kenelm Digby's
A Jesuit's consolation.
Ages of Faith—St. Basil, St. Benedict, St. Bernard, St. Dominic, and St. Francis, had the mortification to see their respective monks very roughly handled—simply, we are distinctly assured, because "with their holy life, doctrine, and preaching, they aided souls, and opposed themselves to the torrent of vices and abominations, and supported with their shoulders the Church which seemed menaced with ruin"³—in the *Ages of Faith! O mores catholici!* "And as their manner of life," continues the Jesuit Ribadeneyra, "was

¹ Discep. De Secretis S. J. p. 24. Ed. Mogunt. 1617. ² Ubi supra, p. 25.

³ Para que con su santa vida, doctrina, y predicacion, ayudassen à las almas, y se opusiesen al torrente de los vicios y maldades, y sustentassen con sus hombros la Yglesia, que parecia amenazar ruina. Ribaden.—*Tratado* . . . de la Comp. de Jesus. *Dedication*.

different to that which was followed and admitted by the other monks of those days, the novelty of their Rule and Institute produced wonder and also indignation in many who persecuted them ; and books, disputations, and sermons censured and condemned that manner of life as an innovation, as suspicious, and pernicious. The Apostolic See was forced to take the thing in hand, and with her authority repress the insolent, and defend the Institutes which she had approved ; and the most holy and most learned doctors, St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure sallied forth to encounter the *enemies of all religion and virtue*, and rebut their sophistical and deceitful arguments, as they did with marvellous erudition and prudence, and gained the victory over those infernal monsters—*alcançaron vitoria de aquellos monstruos infernales*” !¹ Brave words, decidedly. Soon he comes to the front of the world’s offending : “ Now, as the Institute of this our least company of Jesus—*nuestra minima Compañia de Jesus*—has some things different to the other Institutes (although she agrees with them in the essentials of an Institute) it is not to be wondered at that many take offence at them, and for not knowing how well founded they are in reason, in the antiquity and the doctrine of the saints, and how proportioned and appropriate they are to the end which the same Company proposes, find fault with them and deem them out-of-the-way novelties. Some of these reprovers and censors are heretics, and pestilential men, and enemies of all religion, particularly with respect to the points which present to them the greater resistance. As to these oppugners I have nothing here to say—inasmuch as their vituperation is our glory, and their reproach is our praise. There are others

¹ *Tratado . . . de la Comp. de Jesus. Dedication.*

who, although Catholics, do not live as Catholics and faithful Christians, nor conform to the law of God, but are rather buried and overwhelmed by their vices, and abhor religious men who strive to lend them a hand to extricate them from that quagmire in which they remain—men who seek and take occasion to abuse everything which thwarts their passions and desires.” So much for the first and second class of Jesuit opponents. The Jesuit goes on with his classification. “Others are not wanting (and perhaps they are the majority) who easily believe what they hear, and with greater facility tell what they have heard, and without investigating and purifying the truth, blame what they do not know nor understand, and think that evil which they do not know to be good.” The fourth class is more interesting. “But what shall I say of some religious men [monks] who are so satisfied and pleased with their own Institute and manner of life, that whatever in other Institutes differs with what they observe in their own, think it wrong, and strive with the same measure to measure the unequal works of God? Let them be praised for being satisfied with their vocation, and acknowledge to our Lord the mercy he has done them in their vocation, esteeming their rule as the best adapted for themselves; but let them not condemn the things which in the other orders differ from theirs, since neither he who eats has reason to judge him who eats not; nor he who eats not, to condemn him who eats, according to St. Paul; and to do the contrary, is to straiten the divine grace which, as saith the apostle St. Peter, is various and multiform.” It is the *devil* again who is to bear the blame for the opposition to the spirit of Ignatius. “The stratagems of Satan,” says the Jesuit, “are many and very various; sometimes he openly strives to undo the

works of the Lord ; at others, he transforms himself into an angel of light (as saith the same apostle), and, under the colour of religion, impugns religion, to the great detriment of the same religion and scandal of poor simple folk, stimulating some religious men [monks] who with the cloak of zeal and piety, disturb other religious men who are their brothers, and all soldiers and ministers of the same Lord." Having finished his classification, he proceeds as follows : " Wherefore it has occurred to me to write this treatise, and to imitate in it the true men already named, the glorious and most learned Doctors St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure, and (although with unequal wealth of spirit, learning, and prudence) to give the reason for certain things of our Institute, which some oppugn, for not knowing well the reasons which the Company has for using them. I hope, with the infinite bounty of the Lord, that he will guide us in such a manner, that all those who with clear and dispassionate eyes should read it, may understand that the things which at the present time seem novelties, were *ancient*, and used in the church of the Lord in *past ages* ; and that our Institute has a most excellent end in view, and that the means she uses are most reasonable and fashioned to attain that end. And with this, those who, for not knowing our Institute, think ill of it, will be disabused ; and those who knowingly oppose it, will give way or be confounded ; and the Lord (whose work the Company is) shall be glorified as her author and protector ; and the good will be edified and more kindly disposed to what they shall see founded in reason, in antiquity, in authority, in doctrine, and custom of the holy Fathers and masters of all Institutes." ¹

¹ *Tratado . . . de la Comp. de Jesus. Dedication.*

Ribadeneyra fulfils his promise. To the Catholic triumphantly he proves all he undertakes. Fathers, Councils, and Catholic Reason fly forth at his bidding, and every distinctive characteristic of the Society is proved to be established, as he promised, in the antiquity, authority, doctrine, custom of the Fathers, and Catholic Reason. By this Jesuit's showing, you will be astounded by the fact (if you did not believe what I said of Ignatius and his Institute, in the first pages of my work)—you will be astounded by the fact, that the essential features of this least Company of Jesus are as old as the sun of Rome. Her name, her absence of any peculiar dress, the absence of a choir, her gratuitous services, *blind* obedience—*obediencia ciega que pide y enseña la Compañía*,—her eschewing of church-dignities, manifestation of conscience ; in a word, all are antiquities, and only revived by holy Father Ignatius. In truth, there's nothing new under the sun !

This establishes the fact that Ignatius and his companions knew what they were about. They worked with an object. We can now believe that before drawing up the Constitutions, Ignatius had read the rules and histories of the religious orders ; ¹ and only selected what accorded with his own peculiar organisation. Thus all the mind of Catholic antiquity had a share in constructing the Jesuit. The multi-form man is but a patchwork after all. "Legion" is a subscription-devil. The whole mystery is explained. All is quite natural. The "inspiration," the "revelation," the "lambent flame" round about his head, which the Jesuit biographers talk about, is all moonshine for "poor simple folk,"—*la gente simple y vulgar*.

After all,
there is
nothing new
in the Jesuit
Institute !

Still, what a
prospect was
before them !

¹ Bouhours ii. 343.

Neither Christ nor the Virgin Mary has a share in the Jesuit, as the Jesuit Tollenarius affirms in the famous *Imago*.¹ He is the joint-manufacture of the Fathers, the Councils, Catholic Reason, and Don Ignàcio, *ci-devant* warrior, penitent, anchoret, strolling preacher, pilgrim, and now General of the Jesuits, and sturdy right arm of the pope and popedom. Such a man, and such companions, (Ribadeneyra, whom you have heard, was one,) are expressly needed. The pope of Rome, the Catholic kings of the earth, bethought them that such men would be valuable friends to their cause—the subjugation of the masses, at that time set in commotion by the ardent breathings of liberty, civil and religious. Oh! 'twas a glorious prospect—a spirit-stirring something-beyondness! Far across the wide oceans, too, Atlantic and Pacific, millions were waiting, ready to be subdued to the yoke. The sword would compel, but “Christianity” would induce, subjection. The preaching of the Gospel could secure the reign of Mammon. The banner of the cross could sanctify the tyranny of kings. And the kings of the earth made friends with the Jesuits, gave them their hands, and with their hands, right joyously, full purses; and for a time they worked together in amity—friends indeed because friends in need. The first movements of the Jesuits heralded the sublimest epoch of their achievements. They began with hazardous enterprise: they have rarely shrunk from peril. If they become monopolists, they will be visited with the odium of those who cannot cope with them either in the peculiar quality of their commodity, or the price of the article, which was dirt-cheap. For “nothing” you might have the services of men of

¹ Post Christum et Mariam Societatis Auctor et Parens Sanctus Ignatius, p. 78.

action and men of study ; men qualified for daring enterprise, and men capable of profound policy ; men of dauntless resolution, and men of insinuating manners ; men who can win the favour and gain the confidence of the gentler sex, and men who can mingle in all the intrigues of state policy ; men who, with a martyr's zeal, will risk everything for the conversion of the heathen abroad, and men of polemic skill to carry on controversies at home ;¹ but, withal, in mercy, excuse him, if you can, should you find, for ever and ever, in the Jesuit, a complete devotedness, body and soul, to the *interests of his order*, ever ready—nay, eager—at the least sign of holy obedience, to perform any function in that Company, which now undertakes, with papal approbation, that is, *secundum artem*, to drug mankind with what she calls—

A THOUSAND NOSTRUMS FOR ALL DISEASES.²



¹ Baptist Magazine, No. cxi.

² Mille agitent morbi, mille ulcera, mille dolores ;

Illa domus causas mille salutis habet.—Imago, p. 454.

For Man's thousand diseases and ulcerous ills
This Company mixes her doses and pills.

BOOK IV. OR, LAINEZ.

SPLENDID was the prospect before Ignatius and his troop : full of difficulty, but full of hope—for an unconquerable Will impelled them : to dare, was to be victorious. The Vicar of Christ had declared to the disciples, the designs and intentions of the Eternal respecting their leader. Two worlds of virgin-pagans were added to the world of cast-away Christians. The barbarians, as they were deemed, of the East, and the cannibals of the West, were destined to compensate the Church for her losses in this little old world of ours—*nostro piccolo e vècchio mondo*. These barbarians and cannibals were to supply the place of the heretics consigned to perdition. But it was incumbent that a man should arise full of charity, zeal, courage, and Apostolic zeal wherewith to fill a multitude of such heroic workers, ready to sacrifice their labour, sweat, blood, and life, to the preaching of the Gospel and the conquest of souls ; craving nothing in return—stipulating no reward for their labour, excepting only the “merit” of the performance—whithersoever the sign was given to them, thither to rush professionally bound, to do the work of the

fit "companion of the work he was machinating,"—*per compagno dell' opera che machinava*,—and Peter confided in Ignatius as "a master of his soul, which was beyond his own guidance." It appears that he had the misfortune to be strongly tempted by the flesh. Scruples of conscience supervened. He found a refuge in the man of the "Spiritual Exercises." "Against the suggestions of carnal concupiscence, gluttony, and vain-glory, which were so troublesome to him, Ignatius prescribed his own practical method of pulling up, by the particular Examination of Conscience, the roots of those affections, one by one, from the heart, where such poisonous herbs usually sprout." For two years Ignatius attended the patient, apparently without alleviating the symptoms of the disease. Peter was still in utter perplexity, not knowing what to do with himself, soul or body, when Ignatius, seizing the happy moment, told him, as though in confidence, that he intended to cross the seas for the Holy Land, there to give his labours and his life for the conversion of the infidels. Peter rushed into his arms—his heart was full of affection—embraced him tenderly, and offered to be his companion. The Jesuits call him "the first-begotten of Saint Ignatius"—*il primogenito di S. Ignatio*.¹ Lefevre made himself useful to his patron; he proved himself worthy of the choice by the cultivation of those qualities which were at first evident in the man pre-destined to be a Jesuit, by the founder. He possessed the most peculiar dexterity in throwing spiritual hints into familiar conversation, conversing in a manner so ingenuously familiar, without betraying any artfulness, and yet with such exquisite art, and with such powerful effect, that he seemed to put his hand

¹ Bartoli, *Dell' Ital.* 96—100.

into the heart of his hearer, there to stamp the idea and emotions he sought to excite. His method was to fall in cleverly with the conversation of those whom he met, just as if he embarked in the same ship with them for a voyage of their choosing. Then, by degrees, putting his hand to the helm, he turned the argument to his design, which, we are assured, was always the soul's salvation, and he did it so well, that imperceptibly his hearers found themselves where they, at first, least expected. He always took his objects by surprise; his arms were ever invisible; he was never suspected, and, therefore, found no resistance. In the opinion of Ignatius, he had no equal in the management of the "Spiritual Exercises." He won for Ignatius three new companions—Lejay, Brouet, and Codure, three choice spirits, all masters in theology, and two of them priests; the first, a Genevan, said to be an angel in mind and a rare genius; the second, a Frenchman or a Belgian, just as it suited his purpose to declare. "He gave out that he was of Picardy, for a very useful reason," says the Jesuit Damian. "It was lest he should be driven from Paris and France on the breaking out of the war between King Francis and the Emperor, he being born in Cambray, and therefore a subject of the latter. This *dissimulation*," observes the Jesuit, "made up the military band of ten"—*et valuit ea dissimulatio ad Decurię numerum*.¹ Codure was a Frenchman. Francis Xavier was the Founder's second acquisition. In the opinion of the Jesuits, "if Ignatius had made the conquest of no other member, he would not have been at all less fortunate than he who *finds a precious pearl*, and, in order to possess it, gives all he has, becomes fortunately

¹ Synop. Primi Sęc. S. J.—*Pręnar*.

poor, and with a single but most advantageous gain, compensates for a thousand small losses.¹ Xavier became the "Great Apostle of the Indies"—the "Alexander of the Missions,"—which last was nearer the truth, as we shall see in due time. Xavier was born in Navarre, at a place of the same name, not far from Pampeluna, where Ignatius received his salutary shot—*il salutare colpa*. He is stated to have sprung from one of the oldest and most illustrious families of Navarre. He studied at Paris, graduated and professed philosophy for more than three years, with great applause. When Ignatius insinuated himself into the heart of Peter Lefevre, who was Xavier's friend, the latter looked upon him with contempt and loathing. The excessive humility of the man was revolting to Xavier. His spiritual suggestions elicited a joke or a scoff. It was thus evident that a different method must be tried on one who seemed, at the very first, a pearl of great price. Xavier was ambitious. Ignatius resolved to attack him by that ambition itself, just as Judith, says Bartoli, with the love of Holofernes, to gain him first thereby, and triumph over him at last. Xavier was anxious to shine—eager for literary renown. Ignatius applied himself to find him pupils and hearers. He won and brought them to him. In every possible way he made himself appear interested in the honour of the young professor. Xavier had a heart : it was touched : it melted at this display of kindness : he began to look on Ignatius with different eyes : the most despicable of men becomes amiable when he shows himself "a friend in need,"—I mean, as the world goes : for, in truth, it is not every heart that would receive a blessing or a gift from the thing it despises.

¹ Bart. *ubi supra*, p. 101.

Ignatius stopped not there : " he tempted him, he seduced him by the enticement of praise . . . he became Xavier's admirer : then, by degrees, insinuating himself into his confidence, and mastering his ambitious desires, he led him away." " Believe me," he said, " the vain honours of earth are too little for a heart so generous as yours. The kingdom of heaven alone is worthy of you. I do not pretend to extinguish your ardour for glory, nor to inspire you with grovelling sentiments. *Be* ambitious—*be* magnanimous : but give your ambition a higher flight, and display the greatness of your soul by despising all that is perishable."¹ Such is the Jesuit account of Xavier's conversion. True or false, it exhibits a *method* whose efficacy has its source in a perfect knowledge of the heart. If Ignatius did not win Xavier by a similar method, there can be little doubt that it was practised on many occasions, and for many purposes, by those who so glibly and ostentatiously describe the process.² The youth, only in his twenty-second year, joined Ignatius. Laynez and Salmeron were Spaniards : the former in his twenty-first year, a " master in philosophy," the latter in his eighteenth, and yet " consummate in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew." They were travelling in quest of knowledge, after the manner of the ancient sages, and had a mind to see Ignatius, who is said to have been even then " in the odour of sanctity." He met them at the gates of Paris. Their conquest was easy. Ignatius passed them through his Exercises : they emerged accomplished—destined to be famous, both of them—and one to succeed the founder in the Generalate. Bobadilla was also a Spaniard—a man of fire and energy—" no ordinary genius,"

¹ Bouhours, i. p. 188.

² Bartoli is, as usual, excessively voluminous on the subject. *Ubi supra*, p. 101, *et seq.*

in quest of divinity at Paris: but he fell into debt. Ignatius gave him money and the Exercises, and he remained his perpetual companion. Simon Rodriguez was a Portuguese, concerning whom his father had predicted on his death-bed "that God had chosen him for great things in his service." He joined Ignatius with the intention of preaching to the Turks in Palestine. These were, with Ignatius, the ten first Jesuits, now about to interest us with their attempts and achievements.¹ The reader will not be surprised to hear that amongst the innumerable faults found with the Jesuits, the very *number* of the first founders has been considered portentous. The number Ten, says the Calvinist Misenus, is termed *Atlas* by the Pythagoreans: whence, not without a mystery, the first who formed the Company were ten, for thus the Jesuits support the popedom, as Atlas bears the burthen of the skies—*vertice supposito sidera fulcit Atlas*. It is unaccountable how a Calvinist could assimilate the popedom to the *skies*: but a *Jesuit in disguise* on the contrary, found in the number a presage of the wonders which the Company would perform. With admirable wit, at least, "Florimond de Raimond," (the *Jesuit Richeome*) a staunch opponent of the Protestants, said that "the Company would be that *decuman*, or *tenth wave*, by which the bark of the pirate Luther would be sunk."²

Scarcely was the Company established by papal mandate, when the ten first Jesuits found themselves in position. Ere the Constitutions were drawn up, Regulations. the Society was in action. What were they to do? Work. That was the watchword. Anticipating the

¹ Bartoli, Bouhours, Maffei, &c.

² *Decumus*, i. e. *decimus*, means *tenth*, and also *huge*, in which sense it was

theoretical network of the Constitutions, Ignatius issued a few regulations for the guidance of his soldiers, the sum total of which was, "to have God before their eyes always as much as possible—with Christ for a model—to see God in their superiors—obedience being an infallible oracle—a guide that never leads astray:—mutual charity, silence, except when forced to speak, religious deportment, were enjoined. Wit, eloquence, wisdom, were nothing in comparison of virtue: affronts and reproaches would be their best reward for their services to their neighbour—the only recompense that the world gave to the labours of Christ. Should they commit a fault which might become public, they were not to despair; but rather to give thanks to God for permitting their fault to teach them the weakness of their virtue: let them be more humble for the future, and let others profit by the warning. Let them be neither excessively gay, nor gloomy, nor cast down; but firm in their vocation, ever on their guard against the evil spirit, with his contradictory suggestions to deceive by the propensities."¹

Francis Xavier was despatched to India as Apostolic Legate. Bobadilla had been appointed, but he fell ill, and thus unfortunately lost the chance of being canonised for converting millions to the faith and

applied to a wave by the Latin poets—*decumani fluctus*. Ovid, with his occasional affectation, says—

"Qui venit hic fluctus, fluctus supereminet omnes :

Posterior nono est, undecimoque prior."—*Trist.* lib. i. 2.

As the storm-wave of humanity, kings and nations, the Society should bear this motto in her "pride of place." Bartoli quotes these words of "Florimond"; but he takes good care not say that *this* Florimond was no other than the Jesuit Richeome, with a *borrowed name*. See Placcius, Moreri, and Barbier.

¹ Bouhours, p. 295.

innumerable and stupendous miracles ; but he would have given more trouble than Xavier, and thus his illness was a blessed event for the nascent Society. When the man fell ill, Ignatius “thought before God to fill his place” and go himself to India—which would have been, perhaps, more disastrous for the Company : “or rather,” adds the Jesuit, who never flinches at an interpretation, “or rather, he thought before God to choose him whom God himself had elected” :—a celestial ray illumined him at once—and Francis Xavier was the man. “Xavier,” he exclaimed, “I had named Bobadilla for the Indies : but Heaven names *you* to-day ; and I announce it to you in the name of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. Receive the appointment which His Holiness lays upon you by my mouth, just as if Jesus Christ presented it himself, and rejoice to find the means of satisfying that ardent desire we had to carry the faith beyond the seas. This is not Palestine only, nor a province of Asia, but immense lands, innumerable kingdoms—an entire world. It is only so vast a field that is worthy of your courage and your zeal. Go, Brother, whither the voice of God calls you, whither the Holy See sends you—and inflame all with the fire within you—the fire divine—*Id, y encendedlo todo, y abrasadlo en fuego divino.*”¹ These last words were the Founder’s talisman on all similar occasions : they fanned the flame of enthusiasm : for

¹ This usual phrase of Ignatius in the original, is taken from Nieremberg: the speech from Bonhours. It is astonishing how diffuse and profuse the Jesuits are in all such matters. However, there is really history in all they write—quite as much as in their deeds recorded. They tell us that Xavier had been forewarned by dreams of his appointment. He dreamed that he carried a huge and very black Indian on his shoulders. You will see the thing engraved in the *Imago*. He also beheld in a dream vast seas, full of tempests and shoals, desert

where is the heart that would not brave every peril whereat humanity shrinks, if but sublimed by that unlimited confidence in its power by those words of fire inflamed. Other posts were filled with equally resolute champions of the faith and popedom. To Venice was sent Lainez, Le Fevre to Madrid, Bobadilla and Lejay to Vienna and Ratisbon, and to Ireland were despatched Salmeron and Brouet, whose mission is somewhat important and interesting.

Pope Adrian IV., an Englishman, had, in the twelfth century, made a grant of Ireland to King Henry II. of England, on the simple conditions that the king should pay him a yearly tribute for Ireland. each house in Ireland, that the Catholic religion should be restored to its former respectability, and the people be made to lead a life of commendable decency.¹ If the first condition proves that there were houses in Ireland, the other two suggest the probability, at least, that neither the religion nor morality of Ireland was then in a flourishing condition. However, a papal grant is not a bird in the hand: though the pope—a man who had been a beggar long enough to feel for others—did not think proper to consult the will of the people, Henry smothered the Bull, biding his time, lest he should burn his fingers. Providence—you may be sure *that* was his interpretation—came to his assistance: an adultery was committed by one of the kings of

islands, savage lands, everywhere hunger, and thirst, and nakedness, with endless labours, bloody persecutions, "perils of death." Suggested as usual by *desire*, these dreams are possible enough; but the Jesuits *will* have them to be supernatural.

¹ "Titulus ille primùm Henrico collatus fertur ab Adriano IV. . . . eâ lege, ut Sedi Apostolicæ singulos asses pro singulis Hiberniæ domibus quotannis persolveret, ac Catholicam Religionem ad pristinum decorem, et populum ad laudabilem vitæ normam redigeret."—*Arsdekin, Theol. Trip.* t. i. p. 306.

Ireland: he was expelled: Henry received him with open arms, espoused his cause, and permitted some Welsh adventurers to attempt the conquest of Ireland for himself, which they effected with the greatest possible ease. In 1174 Henry saw himself acknowledged lord supreme of all Ireland. The consequences were most disastrous to the people. A griping aristocracy amongst whom the country was portioned, rioted in their revenues without a thought for the national welfare, the religion of the people, or their morality. Selfishness and oppression swayed the destinies of those Christian *Catholics*—be it plainly understood, for there were no Protestant persecutors in those days of Catholic (or universal) Catholicism. The evils, thus begun under the reigns of orthodoxy, were not likely to cease when “religious” rancour was superadded to national oppression, as a stirring cause of resistance. Men were not wanting to make both causes serve their selfish purposes, whilst the misguided *people* infallibly smarted for their betters. “Roaring bellows of sedition” fanned the flame, and “incendiary Pharisees” stirred up the embers. A “rebellion,” of course, followed, in the reign of Henry VIII.; and the Pope of Rome, Paul III., of Jesuit notoriety, took the Emerald Isle under his immediate patronage.¹ The Irish, who had little reason to be satisfied with English rule and English contrivances for the last four hundred years, were easily brought to abhor, and well they might, the proceedings of

¹ The hopes of the pope were centred in young Gerald, a boy of about twelve years of age. He was conveyed beyond the reach of Henry, and after being chased from country to country by the tyrant's policy or revenge, “he was at the recommendation of Pope Paul III. taken under the protection of the Prince Bishop of Liege, and afterwards into the family of his kinsman, Cardinal Pole.”—*Lingard*, vi. p. 324. Would to Heaven that we could ascribe this “patronage to sympathy for affliction.

Henry VIII., in religion and morality, whilst the Catholic party took care that this "virtuous indignation" should fester into the loathsome ulcer of "religious" rancour. Many circumstances combined to aggravate the question. In every other country society had taken a step in advance. For good or for evil, it matters not here to prove, but still there *was* movement. The hitherto stagnant compound of mind and sentiment was stirred to its uttermost depths. Hopes and fears flamed floating on the surface, and kept it simmering. There was nothing of the kind in Ireland. No hope, no prospect, gave Irishmen a motive to spring from their childhood, when all the world else was grown older, if not better. Civil dissensions, beggarly contests about "dirty acres" and pelf, kept up their natural eloquence, practised their tongues, but their minds slept on—the motiveless inaction of children. Political chaos, moral anarchy, were the products of aristocratical domination ; but in the *theory* of their ancient religion there was no mutation. This was, this *is* at the present time, the result of mental supineness. It holds also to the Irishman's nature, his organisation. An Irishman is essentially a man of *outsides*—a man of surface, which is, however, always interesting as a pretty landscape. In depth he is greatly deficient. Over the surface of things he sports and shakes off wit from his active wings. Reasoning fatigues, overpowers, disgusts him. He will grant your conclusions if you will spare him the trouble of following you through your major and minor. But his self-love, his pride, are splendid to behold in every phase of his calamities. These support, these rouse his energies, these constitute his motives of acquiescence or resistance, as the case may be ; and these motives were, and are,

the foundation of his clinging to the old religion, even when really of no faith whatever, if tested by the dictates of morality. Hence, a Catholic bishop said that "the Irish believe like saints, though they sin like devils." His country, unfortunately, had not a fair chance to embrace the opportunity of enlightenment when the meteor shot athwart the firmament of Europe in the sixteenth century. Successive attempts had prepared other countries for religious and intellectual reform. In her distant nook of the world, far from the scene of intellectual agitation, how could she learn to think, and reason, and adopt a vigorous conclusion? She knew nothing of Huss, nothing of Wycliffe; she had heard nothing of that booming sound which preluded to every thoughtful ear the bursting of the *Ætna*; and the dense mist above her shut out the bright lightnings of the conflagration which fired the intellect of the sixteenth century. Ireland remained "Roman Catholic." She could neither reason herself out of her faith, nor had she any reason to please her masters by adopting theirs. It did not offer to rid her of oppression. It would not be accompanied by bodily and mental alleviation, to judge from past experience, since what was English and what was oppressive had always been one and the same. The priests took admirable care to deepen the notion. In fact, had Ireland been even inclined to join in the Protestant movement, had she even been able to reason herself into doubt of the old religion, coming from England it was sure to be resisted. In her circumstances it could only be another motive for withstanding the enemy who, not content with forcing his yoke upon her neck, would nail a religion on her mind. Resistance was natural; but,

unfortunately, it was the resistance of a madman ; violence and torture stilled it cruelly. The first suffering, the first shedding of blood, the first " martyrs " established a " party " which would ever " stir," and has always " stirred," the resourceless people to their own destruction—fooling the noble race of Irishmen—ever fooling them as though they were gaping idiots born only for suffering and starvation. And what was the watchword ? Why, the *Authority of the Pope*—that cruel thing which had sold their country to the English invader. Fitzgerald proclaimed himself its champion ; " he took arms in Ireland, in defence of the pope's authority." ¹ His attempt was stifled. Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, who followed in his track, had no better success. Henry's power and patronage bore down all opposition. Irish parliaments voted everything he pleased, just like his English convocations. They passed statutes abolishing papal authority, declaring Henry head of the Irish Church, and liberally gave him what did not belong to them—the first fruits of all ecclesiastical livings.² Partial insurrections followed, if party contests can bear the name,—contests without one rational hope of success in a cause which, to triumph, demands unity of council, in the midst of national fixity, industrial energy, and moral perseverance, totally devoid of those freezing, petty motives, inseparable from sacerdotal and papal influence. Partial insurrections followed ; but Henry's power and patronage rose above all. The

¹ " Pro pontificis auctoritate in Hiberniâ arma sumpserat."—*Pole. Lingard*, vi. p. 325.

² " Ignorance of the recent occurrences in the sister island, gave occasion to a most singular blunder. One day the parliament confirmed the marriage of the king with Anne Boleyn ; and the next, in consequence of the arrival of a courier, declared it to have been invalid from the beginning."—*Lingard*, *ibid*.

Irish chieftains and the lords of the pale outstripped each other in professions of obedience to his authority. A parliament assembled. Ireland from a lordship was raised to the rank of a kingdom. Regulations were made for the administration of justice in Connaught and Munster ; commissioners were appointed with power to hear and determine all causes, which might be brought before them from the other provinces. The aristocracy were gratified, the chieftains were satisfied, the people were unquestionably better off than they are at the present day ; in a word, "never," says Dr. Lingard, "since the invasion of the island by Henry II., did the English ascendancy in Ireland appear to rest on so firm a basis, as during the last years of Henry VIII."¹ And that was the very time when Pope Paul III. thought proper to send two Jesuit spies, emissaries, or "envoys," into Ireland ; and Ignatius, the man of such admirable speeches, and such admirable regulations, as we have read, lent himself to the design—supplied the "incendiary Pharisees—the roaring bellows of sedition."²

Brouet and Salmeron were the Jesuits appointed : the first a Frenchman, the latter a Spaniard. It appears that Paul III. took the mendicants at their word, and intended them to work their way as well as they could to the "any place" of their vows—
Instructions to the Jesuit envoys. for they were to start, apostolically, *sine sacco et perâ*, totally dependent on Providence : but a papal

¹ Lingard, vi. pp. 326, 327.

² Read the admirable introduction to "Facts and Figures, from Italy." Those apt patronymies of the tribe occur at page 10. See also Beaumont's work, "L'Irlande Sociale Politique et Religieuse." There is much in that book ; it must suggest useful thoughts, if we pardon the Frenchman his peculiar prejudices.

functionary, Zapata by name, who happened to be thinking of joining the Jesuits, resolved to put on his boots and make the journey his novitiate, and to defray its expenses, as well as to share its peril and fatigues. In September, 1541, the three set out on the expedition. The Jesuits were invested with all the powers of Apostolic nuncios—so important did this “mission” appear to the papal patron of Ireland. As usual, instructions were given to the emissaries by Loyola. They have been handed down for the enlightenment of his posterity :¹ such being the object, they will, independently of their curious structure, be deemed interesting. I must, however, preface them with an extraordinary admission by a modern historian of the Jesuits, whose voluminous work is intended to show up and defend the sons of Loyola. He says: “In these instructions Loyola takes care not to speak of those which the pope has given them ; he keeps aloof from politics. Salmeron and Brouet are the pope’s delegates : they have his confidence. Ignatius endeavours to render them worthy of it, but he does not go beyond. He knows that the new legates are diametrically opposed in temper and disposition—that Salmeron is hasty, petulant ; that Brouet has in his heart something angelical and persuasive ; and so it is Brouet whom he appoints to hold communication with the Great. All is combined by Ignatius so as not to injure either of them, but rather to make them accord for the interest of the Church.”² It is possible to combine “religion” with political machination, and, leaving to the pope, the wily Paul III., the care of instilling the dictates of the latter, “the most wise Father” confined

¹ “Ut Societatis posteri quales ad has expeditiones Ignatii sententiâ requirantur, intelligant, non ab re fuerit, quibus ille monitis abeuntes instruxerit, indicare.”—*Orland.* lib. iii. 47.

² Cretineau-Joly, *Hist.* i. p. 137.

himself to the former, but in as political a manner as can well be conceived, and most admirably brought home. It proves beyond a doubt, how well he, or the Jesuit composer of the document, had studied mankind :—

“ I recommend you to be, in your intercourse with all the world in general—but particularly with your equals and inferiors—modest and circumspect in your words ; always disposed and patient to listen, lending an attentive ear till the persons who speak to you have unveiled the depth of their sentiments. Then you will give them a clear and brief answer, which may anticipate all discussion.

“ In order to conciliate to yourselves the good will of men, in the desire of extending the kingdom of God, you will make yourselves all to all, after the example of the Apostle, in order to gain them to Jesus Christ.¹ Nothing, in effect, is more adapted than the resemblance of tastes and habits to conciliate affection, to gain hearts.

“ Thus, after having studied the character and manners of each person, you will endeavour to conform yourselves to them as much as duty will permit :—so that, if you have to do with an excitable and ardent character, you should shake off all tedious prolixity.

“ You must, on the contrary, become somewhat slow and measured in speech, if the person to whom you speak is more circumspect and deliberate in his speech.

“ For the rest, if he who has to do with a man of irascible temperament, has himself that defect, and if they do not agree thoroughly in their opinions, it is greatly to be feared lest they permit themselves to be

¹ Into what disrepute have the Jesuits brought those words of the Apostle ! The perfection of the law of charity and brotherly love in devoting ourselves for the good of each other, is interpreted into copying their manners, tastes, and habits, in order to “ gain ” them first to *ourselves* and then “ to the Lord ” !

hurried into passion. Wherefore, he who recognises in himself that propensity ought to keep watch on himself with the most vigilant care, and fortify his heart with a supply of strength, in order that anger should not surprise him : but rather that he may endure with equanimity all that he shall suffer from the other, even should the latter be his inferior. Discussions and quarrels are much less to be apprehended from quiet and slow tempers than from the excitable and ardent.

“ In order to attract men to virtue, and fight the enemy of salvation, you shall employ the arms which *he* uses to destroy them—such is the advice of St. Basil.

“ When the devil attacks a just man, he does not let him see his snares : on the contrary, he hides them, and attacks him only indirectly, without resisting his pious inclinations, feigning even to conform to them ;—but by degrees he entices him and surprises him in his snares. Thus it is proper to follow a similar track to extricate men from sin.

“ Begin with praising what is good in them, without at first attacking their vices : when you shall have gained their confidence apply the remedy proper for their cure.

“ With regard to melancholy or unsettled persons, exhibit whilst addressing them, as much as you can, a gay and serene countenance : give the greatest sweetness to your words, in order to restore them to a state of mental tranquillity—combating one extreme by another extreme.

“ Not only in your sermons, but also in your private conversations, particularly when you reconcile people at variance, do not lose sight of the fact that all your

words may be published ; what you say in darkness may be manifested in the light of day.

“ In affairs anticipate the time rather than defer or adjourn it : if you promise anything for to-morrow, do it to-day.

“ As to money, do not touch even that which shall be fixed for the expenses which you shall pay. Let it be distributed to the poor by other hands, or employ it in good works, in order that you may be able in case of need, to affirm on oath, that in the course of your legation, you have not received a penny.

“ When you have to speak to the Great, let *Pasquier Brouet* have the charge.

“ Deliberate with yourselves, on all the points touching which your sentiments might be at variance. Do what two out of three persons would have approved [if called in to decide.]

“ Write often to Rome during your journey,—as soon as you shall reach Scotland,—and also when you shall have penetrated into Ireland. Then, every month, give an account of your legation.”¹

The immense importance of political dexterity is much more striking in these Instructions than its pious hints. If it be necessary, or even expedient, for it cannot be lawful, to inveigle minds into piety, that piety must have its foundation in the weaknesses of our nature—our lowest sentiments—those which make flattery a motive. It may be an excuse for Ignatius and the Jesuits that the “ conquest of souls ” was their passion, the destiny to which they deemed themselves called,—that they disregarded the means in the end so beautiful in theory. If it be an excuse, it is no justification. No

¹ Orland. lib. iii. 48 ; Cretineau, i. p. 134.

workers unto salvation were ever placed in more difficult circumstances than the Redeemer and his Apostles; and yet when did they ever stoop to imitate the devil in his manœuvres, as Ignatius with Basil advise, in order to allure men to virtue and fight the enemy of salvation? ¹

And the pope's Instructions; what were they? Results will show their import, whilst we bear in mind Paul's patronage of Ireland. Brouet and Salmeron reached Scotland. James V., father of James V. of Scotland. the unfortunate Queen of Scots, and the *Zerbino* of Ariosto—barring the Scot's amours—was reigning in those times of trouble. Already had the pope negotiated with James when he resolved to publish his sentence of deprivation against Henry VIII. James had promised to join Charles V. and Francis in their efforts to convert or crush the apostate monarch: but the papal Bull was disregarded by Charles and Francis, who soon took the field against each other; and the Scot wisely resolved to keep

¹ The following is stated to be an extract from a Sermon preached by Dr. Brown, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin at the time in question: but the Sermon is said to have been delivered in 1551. It was given to Sir James Ware, and is in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. i. p. 556; in Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 85; and in almost every hostile history of the Jesuits:—

"But there are a new fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves Jesuits, which will deceive many; who are much after the Scribes' and Pharisees' manner. Amongst the Jews they shall strive to abolish truth, and shall come very near it. For these sorts will turn themselves into several forms; with the heathens a heathenist, with the atheist an atheist, with the Jews a Jew, with the reformers a reformado, purposely to know your hearts, your inclinations, and thereby bring you at last to be like 'the fool that said in his heart, There is no God.' These shall spread over the whole world, shall be admitted into the councils of princes, and they never the wiser; charming of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts, and the secrets therein, and yet they not perceive it; which will happen from falling from the law of God by neglect of fulfilling the law of God, and by winking at their sins: yet in the end, God, to justify his law, shall suddenly cut off this Society, even by the hands of those who have most scourged them, and made use of them; so that, at the end, they shall become odious to all nations. They shall be worse than Jews, having no resting-place upon earth, and then shall a Jew have more favour than a Jesuit."

on good terms with his terrible uncle. Henry was trying to "convert" him. A Catholic kingdom in his flank was the bugbear. He dreaded the machinations of Rome in the haunts of orthodoxy. And he was right in his conjecture. The Scottish king held out. In the very year in question, his parliament had passed laws in support of the old doctrines and papal supremacy. Beaton, his minister, made a cardinal by Paul III., had been at Rome, and the Jesuit envoys arrived with letters from the pope, and confirmed the Scot's determination or deceived him with false hopes—certainly obtained his promise to resist Henry's entreaties. Tired with entreaties, the English tyrant "tried what virtue there was in stones," and sent the Duke of Norfolk with ten thousand men to invade the Catholic kingdom. Doom followed apace: the Scots disdained to fight under the detested Sinclair—the royal favourite—if we may believe their own historians; or believed the number of the enemy greater than it was: the result was, they fled without a blow—men and leaders in irremediable confusion. James sank under the calamity. He sickened and died—because "he could not digest a disaster," says Drummond of Hawthornden—like Napoleon at St. Helena, who silenced his consulting physicians by frankly stating his disease to be, "a Waterloo driven inwards." Thus the Scot kept his promise to the Jesuits, and paid the penalty. He died exclaiming: "By fraud or force my poor kingdom will fall to Henry of England. It came by a lass, and by a lass it will go." But the Jesuits left a Cardinal Beaton where the "merit" in the king's "promise" was shared by that "cruel antagonist of the Scottish Reformation."¹

¹ Orland. lib. iii. ; Cretineau, i. ; Lingard, vi. ; Andr. Hist. i.

From Scotland, Brouet and Salmeron hurried to Ireland. Disguised, almost as beggars, without an asylum, in an unknown land, whose language they knew not, still, we are assured, they gained the confidence of the most faithful, and were soon surrounded by a flock "whom their own audacity rendered audacious."¹ In the short space of four-and-thirty days these primitive Jesuits, according to their own account, visited every part of the island. Rapidity of locomotion will always be the characteristic of Jesuit-angels. Frightful was their account of matters in Ireland; infinitely worse than they expected—religion, morality—all that was Irish at the lowest ebb: the people barbarous, savage, and what was worst of all in their estimation, totally destitute of priests. The chieftains had not only sworn fealty and obedience to Henry, but even to burn all the pope's letters, and to deliver up his men whenever they found them, to the king or his viceroy. The Jesuits despaired not, however. They frequently changed their lurking places, and chose their opportunities. They set to work with Masses, confession, "indulgences of sins," and permutation of vows.² According to their own account, nothing could exceed the joy of the Irish at their advent—or the hopes they conceived at the promises of the Jesuits: "the joy of the Catholics was greater than their discretion," and "from the energy of their glances, from the hopes whose secret their every word betrayed, the sectarians surmised that something unusual was passing in Ireland."³ The Jesuits were known to be there: a price was set

¹ Cretineau, *ibid.* p. 139.

² "Cumulatam peccatorum indulgentiam tribuebant." *Orland.* *ib.* 58.

³ Cretineau, *i.* p. 140.

on their heads ; confiscation and the penalty of death were proclaimed against every family or individual who should harbour Salmeron and Brouet—evidently not confining their mission to *pious* exhortations, to masses, confession, indulgences, or permutations of vows. In effect, another account expands the admissions above-given, stating that the severity they exercised against the people, the heavy sums they exacted from them in confessional mitigation of the least fault, and their machinations against the government, exposed them to such imminent peril that, to avoid falling into the hands of Henry VIII., to whom the people threatened to deliver them, they took flight and went to France on their way back to Rome, to Father Ignatius, and Pope Paul III.¹ But they took Scotland in their flight, and saw enough to make them despair. In vain the pope ordered them back into Scotland : they remonstrated !² The attempt would be desperate. Then it was that they were ordered to return home, and gladly obeying, they had the misfortune to be imprisoned as Spanish spies at Lyons. The Cardinal de Tournon set them free and gave them money and horses for the Roman journey, having found them, as may be supposed, in a pitiful plight after all their adventures.³ Such was the result of the papal scheme in Ireland. The “day of deliverance” was not come. It was deferred to the time when a Gregory should fill the papal chair, and a Philip II. the throne of Spain.⁴

¹ Hist. de Dom Inigo, i. p. 210.

² “Sed illi hæere tamdiu dum certior Pontifex factus, quo ejus Regni loco res essent.” *Orland.* ib. 60.

³ Id. ibid. 61.

⁴ In spite of the flight of these Jesuits, and their evident dread of the dangers on this occasion, at least, we are actually told that they had conceived, on their departure from Ireland, the daring project of penetrating into the very presence of Henry VIII. in order to plead the cause of Catholicism. “The plan was

Salmeron and Brouet fell back to their General's quarters : they were at once placed in position—new battles were to be fought. Troublous times had Doings in Italy. supervened. Heresy had penetrated into Italy—scandal was in the priesthood. Brouet and Salmeron rushed to the rescue. The latter was unfortunate : instead of vanquishing heresy, he was himself accused of error, deferred to the Inquisition, but was acquitted and quieted for two years, whilst the angelic Brouet succeeded in reforming the priesthood and monkhood of Foligno, a small, but populous, city in the States of the Church. Its priests and monks were as ignorant as they were depraved : Brouet had to teach them grammar as well as the Ten Commandments.¹ And the nuns of Reggio, too, he reformed : he curbed the passions of these foolish virgins—this excellent Brouet, “with the kindness and look of an angel,” according to Loyola's blessed opinion.²

Heresy was dominant in Lombardy. Ochín, the famous reformer of the Franciscans, and ultimately the friend of Calvin, the Reformer, was the leader of its troops. Brouet became its opponent. What was his strategy ? What were his tactics ? He shunned a pitched battle, but vanquished in detail. In familiar conversations, he talked only of forming charitable confraternities for the benefit of the poor. The poor adopted the idea. From this point he advanced to the moral reformation of his co-operators. The example fructified. Then he discussed the Christian doctrine in public : his charities and skilful catechising carried all before him,

impracticable,” says Cretineau “but that martyrdom was of little consequence in their estimation. They had an end in view—they walked blindly as a soldier to victory.” i. p. 141.

¹ Cret. ib. 143 ; Bartol. lib. 1 ; Orland. lib. iii. ² Cret. ib. 144 ; Bart. ; Orland.

and Ochin, the heretic, was compelled to retreat. Brouet remained in possession of the field, and fortified his entrenchments.¹

What could resist that Jesuit method? It begins with providing for the immediate wants of hungry and naked humanity. It gains the heart. The mind must soon surrender. The minds of most men are in their stomachs : a hungry stomach is the universal conventicle of rebellion. Then fill the stomach, and the mind will readily be filled with your sentiments—if you choose to imitate the Jesuits.

Fame's trumpet proclaimed renown to the Society of Jesus. The "New Order" was the theme of every tongue : the infant Society was fondled in her cradle. In 1545, five years after the foundation, William Duprat, the bishop of Clermont, and son of the French Chancellor of that name, came forward as the patron of the Society. He founded a college : he lodged the fathers in his palace, which was afterwards converted into a house of the Order : he bequeathed a portion of his fortune to the Society at his death.

Another Frenchman was dazzled by the brilliant image of the first Society. William Postel
Postel. played the first entertaining episode under the magic wand of the "Spiritual Exercises."

This "universal genius," as he was deemed, and "wonder of the world," as he was called, offered himself to Ignatius. In addition to his immense learning, Postel was the friend of kings : lords of high repute were his courtiers. He was in the prime of life. He came from the court of France. This conquest seemed indeed a precious boon to Ignatius. He received the novice with exultation.

¹ Cret. p. 144 ; Bartol. lib. i. ; Orland. lib. iii.

The result was afflictingly disastrous. The "Spiritual Exercises" began, and proceeded ; but failed in the issue : they were to Postel the proximate occasion of extravagant visions. His mind became disordered : he talked of a new coming of Christ, launched into all the errors of Rabbinism, and established, on judicial astrology, the principles of his faith.

Ignatius could not undo the work of his Exercises : the ghost was raised, but could not be dismissed. Salmeron, Lainez, a cardinal, tried to cure the learned novice. Ignatius tried : but the saint too failed. Postel was expelled, because " he might have become dangerous to the Society," He was imprisoned for his errors : but he never recovered. He died a visionary, after deluging the world with innumerable works, the most extravagant in conception and execution, issuing from " the soul of Adam," which he said had entered into his body. Such was the effect of the "Spiritual Exercises" on Postel. The tendency to monomania may have been in him before ; but had it been apparent, he would not have been received by Ignatius : the "Spiritual Exercises" matured his insanity, if they did not produce that "religious excitement" which Esquirol numbers among the causes of insanity.¹ All his fantastic productions were published after his short experience of the Ignatian method.²

¹ *Des Maladies Mentales*, t. ii. p. 726.

² Some of Postel's notions were curious. He believed that women would one day sway over men ; that all sects would be saved by Jesus Christ ; and that the greater part of the mysteries of Christianity might be demonstrated by reason. His life is interesting independently of his connection with the Jesuits, and his numerous and singular productions. He died in 1581, at a very advanced age, after enjoying continued good health, which he attributed to his *perfect chastity*. The Jesuit Desbillons published a work on this remarkable man, and undertakes to *prove his predisposition to insanity*. *Nouveaux Eclaircissements sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Guil. Postel*. Liège, 1773.

The expulsion of Postel produced considerable sensation ; it tended to prejudice the Jesuit cause in France. To this remote event is attributed the feud between the French University and the Jesuits, which has lasted three hundred years. But the cause of the contest was far deeper in the human breast ; the University-men were monopolists, and so were the Jesuits. They could not exist together : they battled anon : they were destined to enjoy alternate triumphs. The battle of life includes trade, politics, public instruction, and religion. Selfishness arms the combatants ; corporate interests point the blade ; short-lived triumphs reciprocate encouragement ; the strife will last for ever.

Victory and defeat are the same to the Jesuit-heart in their result, which is continual effort—the resolve to make the most of the opportunity. Under the watchful eye of the Founder, the Society was struggling for the mastery ; her difficulties will soon be forgotten in her triumphant success.

John III. of Portugal opened his kingdom to Ignatius : Rodriguez marched to the post. Funds were provided, a college rose in Coimbra—the splendid beginning of a terrible end ; but triumphs, not disasters, are now before the Jesuits.

Lefevre and Lejay were in Germany, reforming the Catholic clergy, and doing battle to the Reformation. The desperate hatred of both Catholics and Protestants pursued the Jesuits ; they threatened to throw Lejay into the Danube. The Jesuit smiled, saying : “ What do I care if I enter Heaven by water or by land ! ” The stormy Bobadilla soon dashed into the same field vacated by Lefevre, who was hurrying to Spain in order to found the great college and house of the Professed,

at Valladolid. This achievement was to crown Lefevre's devotedness to the cause. The great and the people received him with exultation. His work was done : he sickened : he was dying : at Rome, in the arms of Ignatius, he expired soon after, exhausted by his labours. It was a sore affliction, a heavy loss for the brotherhood. Ignatius found it necessary to devise some consolation. He had, as the reader remembers, seen the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus in her arms ;¹ he had seen the Holy Trinity collectively and in detail ; God the Father had placed him with God the Son ; to the beatific vision he had been introduced, in order to behold, after the fashion of Dante, "in a great circle of the blessed, his companion Hozes, who had just died, all shining with light, and beautiful as any of the celestials."² All these things had happened to Ignatius, or he was a most blasphemous and arrant deceiver to invent them, whatever was his motive. And now, to console his disconsolate brethren, he pretends to prophecy : he pretends to foretell what he knew, as any man might know, was about to ensue. Ignatius told the brothers that at the very same time there was a man meditating to join the Society, who would not only retrieve the loss of Lefevre, but surpass his gains ; alluding

Craft of
Ignatius.

¹ There is something very absurd in this vision. To represent Mary with the Infant in her arms is fair enough ; but for a man to say that he saw the veritable embodiment is stupendously absurd. It presupposes the continued existence of the Redeemer's *infancy*. Strange, that the absurdity did not strike the inventor, naturally so shrewd ; but the fact is, in these matters, to gain belief, the most improbable, unnatural, impossible concoction, is always the most successful. The present reminds us of the *two* skulls of St. Patrick, exhibited to the tourist in Ireland. Expressing his astonishment at the duplicate, he was told that the small skull was that of the boy Patrick, and the large one that of the full-grown saint.

² Vide con gli occhi dell'anima il Paradiso aperto, e quivi, in un gran cerchio di Beati, il compagno suo luminoso, e bello, come un di loro. *Bar. Vita.* lib. ii. 37.

to the *Duke Francis Borgia of Gandia*, who had been in constant intercourse with the Jesuit Araoz for the last three years at least ; who had corresponded with the prophet ; whose wife had died two months before, leaving him free to follow out his intentions ; who had founded a college for the company at Gandia, which the *same Lefevre* had organised, not omitting to stimulate the duke with the "Spiritual Exercises," as we are expressly told ; in fine, who took the vows, about a year after, with peculiar dispensations by Father Ignatius, as we shall presently witness.¹ And yet we are told by a Jesuit that "God had some years past revealed to Saint Ignatius the designs he had on Don Francisco ; that Ignatius had affirmed the same at a time when he could have no human knowledge of the thing, during the life of the Duke's wife ; that one day, exhibiting a letter which he had received from the Duke to a certain learned and pious doctor, he said : 'Do you think that he who writes to me is to enter our Company, and is even, some day, to be its General ?''² So much for the "very authentic testimony of this prophecy."³ In truth, these are the contrivances which show forth the character of this wily Spaniard throughout his career. These explain the hold he had on the minds and hearts, the credulity and weaknesses of his followers. As devout as Mohammed, but somewhat altered to suit the circumstances of his advent, spiritual power, domination over minds and hearts, constituted the avarice, the concupiscence of his heart. No apparent immorality could disenchant the mind of his beholders. It was necessary that he should not be, or seem to be, as other men ; but

¹ See Verjus, "Vie de S. Franç. de Borg." i. pp. 78, 79, 88, 93, 96.

² Id. *ibid.* p. 101.

³ Id. *ibid.* ; Bartol. Dell Ital. lib. i. p. 99.

it will require a degree of credulity which we may pray never to possess, in order to induce us to hold Ignatius for anything but a wily practiser on the human heart and mind, in order to gratify the peculiar ambition within him—an ambition which, in its workings, is even like unto avarice of pelf, and concupiscence of lust.

The success of his scheme surpassed his expectations. In 1540, when the Company was established, he had but ten followers, vagabonds like himself, houseless, dinnerless. In 1543, there were His method of training. eighty Jesuits, the pope having consented by a Bull to rescind the restriction which limited their number to sixty. Henceforth the word "Infinite" would be engraved on the Company's portals: all the world might knock and enter: work would be found for all sorts, all manner of aspirants without exception. Within three years after, the Company possessed ten establishments in various parts of the world; and in 1549, only nine years from the foundation, there were twenty-two establishments and two provinces¹—spiritual-military divisions, each with its chieftain or superior holding on the skirt of Ignatius with one hand, and directing the march and order of battle to pairs, to decades, and hundreds, to whom he had but to say "Do it"—and it was done. Everywhere the Jesuits were in request; all were eager to receive the new Apostles—the desperate spiritualists who stuck at nothing. And what a method was theirs for imposing on the people extravagant notions of their extraordinary sanctity and perfections: to what trials did they subject the men whom they destined to uphold those notions. Rodriguez in Portugal, in order to test the firmness of a novice, ordered him to walk the streets

¹ Orland. lib. iv. 1., et lib. ix. 1.

of Coimbra, and to pray in the churches he passed, without a cloak on his shoulders, or cap on his head, but bearing in his hand a hideous and grinning skull. This man had been a noted musician and singer of Coimbra. A crowd of boys pursued the penitent, hooting, hissing, bitterly gibing, and insulting. He performed the task, and was thereupon received into the Society. The same Rodriguez would send forth, in the dead of night, some of his men to perambulate the streets, awfully roaring, "Hell! hell! for those who are guilty of mortal sin." Others he would cover with rags, and send them to beg in every street. Thus he shamed them—*ad incutiendum ruborem valuit plurimum*. Some he dispatched in the evening to the highways and byways to cry out, "Alas! alas! ye sinners desist from sin, since you must die."¹ The public hospitals were places of trial for the novices. To the dwelling of loathsome disease, the taverns of death, Ignatius would send his future Jesuits on trial. The officials were apprised of his object; they carried out his intentions; and treated the penitents worse than servants, abusing their silence and equanimity. They loaded them with labour and insult. They would command them to dig graves, to bury the dead. By night they made them watch beside the sick, cheating their weary eyes of sleep so hardly earned by their daily labours. On their weak and tender shoulders they placed vessels of water, and wood, and other burthens. It was a ceaseless round of occupation on occupation, labour on labour—nay, even all time for prayer and attending at mass was denied them, except on festivals and Sundays. Thus Ignatius would "mortify" even their pious desires! And why? Because he

¹ Orland, lib. v. 52.

wished utterly to break the human will, to make it "indifferent to all things," except thrice-holy Obedience. Whatever was humiliating in menial offices, whatever was horribly nauseous, whatever was difficult and harassing, the servants of the hospital, glad to find substitutes, consigned to the penitent sons of Loyola. They were stinted in food, and the little they got was of the worst description : even dry bread was denied them. If the probationers happened to be priests, which was often the case, they added to these labours the care of pious exhortation to the sick, and the administration of the sacraments. Ignatius would send to inquire into the conduct of the probationers, to suggest the particular inflictions requisite in particular cases—in fine, to discover who was to be retained or expelled from the Company. Nor was this all. Those whom he thought worthy of his band, he continued to "try" in a variety of ways. He would appoint them not only to one office, but to many at the same time ; and thus, not only to preclude idleness in the house, and to compensate for the fewness of numbers, but also that their peculiar qualifications might be apparent from that variety of occupations, and he might see in what each member could excel. Thus it was that many became fit for many purposes, whilst one was occupied and kept in many functions at one and the same time—*ita multi ad multa evadebant idonei, dum unus pluribus occupatur et distinctetur officiis* : nor was there ever wanting a proper agent for any business, all being trained habitually in almost every function, and in every office—*nec unquam deerat, quem cuique negotio præficeret, omnibus omnium pene functionum usu, munerumque jam doctis*. The consequence was, that even those who were naturally

timid and irresolute, became bold and courageous, when applied to various purposes ; for as we pine in longing and inactivity, when we are passed over in the appointment of functions, so are our spirits raised when we are selected. Since nature herself—which is sharpened and polished by long practice—does not make us so inert and sluggish as we are rendered by the consciousness of being thought sluggish and reputed lazy. As an instance of this indefatigable activity, the public secretary of the Company, John Polancus, may be mentioned. Whilst he was the depository of the Company's secrets, he had to preach, to fill the offices of catechist and procurator,—nor did these occupations exempt him from performing the functions of cook and bed-maker to the establishment.¹

In distributing his employments, Ignatius always consulted the *inclinations of the employed*. He insisted on their perfect readiness to execute *any command* whatever :² this was the guarantee of *obedience*. He commanded according to their inclinations ; this was the secret of *success*.

For the distant employments of the Society, he selected men of great experience ; he chose the inexperienced to govern under his own eye at Rome : he would test their ability, and form them himself, whilst he watched their conduct.³

To the laborious missions he sent only men of tried virtue.⁴

¹ "Itaque publicus Societatis scribe, cui omnia committebantur arcana, concionibus, sacrisque lectionibus simul operam dabat; idemque et Christianas doctrinas, et Procuratoris Generalis officium administrabat; nec tamen a culinæ, triclinique muneribus erat immunis." *Orland*, lib. vii. 5.

² "En distribuant les emplois, il avait égard aux inclinations de ceux qu'il employait, quoiqu'il voulût que, de leur côté, ils fussent disposés à tout." *Bouhours*, t. ii., p. 24.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

He would spare the weak and imperfect; but his indulgence was sometimes intended to strike them with a sense of their weakness, and in order that *shame* should excite them to become more virtuous.¹

If he gave them somewhat difficult employments, it was only when these were desired, and on the condition that should they be overwhelmed, they would frankly declare it.²

Nevertheless, if he fell in with any of those violent and untractable spirits, whose rough temper is invigorated by a robust constitution, he would give them more work than the rest; and if they chanced to get ill, he did not much regret it, thinking that the infirmity of the body would perhaps promote the salvation of the soul.³

In refusing a favour, he gave his reasons, in order that those who were disappointed might be less dissatisfied; and that he who received a favour might be more reserved in repeating his applications. He seldom refused what he could safely grant, and he would sweeten his refusal with words of kindness, so as to ensure affection. His reproofs were seasoned with mild and polite expressions; or, at least, he would so qualify them that they were sharp and severe without being harsh and acrid.⁴ But he was terrible in his wrath. When a certain member blamed one of the Fathers on one occasion for street-preaching, Ignatius, as soon as he heard of the fact, roused him at midnight, turned him into the street, and expelled him from the Company, in spite of his prayers for pardon.⁵

His confidence in his followers was proof against evil-report; he would cherish them all in such a manner that each deemed himself a favourite. He even

¹ Bouhours.

² Id.

³ Id.

⁴ Id.

⁵ Bart. 224.

accommodated himself to the dispositions of all to such an extent, that he seemed to transform himself into them entirely, and all with an air so simple, and so natural, that he might be said to have been born as he affected to appear.¹

An anecdote or two will give completeness to the method of Ignatius.

A rich man, who had been received into the Society, had a well-made and costly crucifix, to which he was much attached. The General permitted him to retain it. Meanwhile, the novice made great progress in virtue, and made great efforts to acquire self-control. As soon as the General perceived this, he said: "Very good! Since the brother is weaned not only from the world, but also from himself, we may take from his hands the image of Jesus Christ crucified, whom he has in his heart." The novice was deprived of his crucifix, and he resigned it without demur.²

His method with novices illustrious by birth or learning, was very curious. He treated them at first with great deference; he would call them *Count*, *Marquis*, *Doctor*, until they felt ashamed of the titles, and begged to be spared the distinctions. But when he saw that they relished the "maxims of the Gospel," and walked in the way of perfection, there were none whom he mortified more: he took pleasure in lowering a man of rank, in humbling a doctor; and he ceased not until they had forgotten what they were.³

The following is truly remarkable. A young German, of good talent, was inclined to leave the Society. Father Ignatius, who had received him, and thought him adapted for the ministry of the gospel, did all he could

¹ Bouhours.

² Id.

³ Id.

to retain him ; but the German would listen to nothing, so strong was his temptation. Father Ignatius, pretending to yield, begged the novice to remain yet a few days in the house, and *to live just as he pleased, without submitting to any rule*. He accepted the condition, and lived at first with all the licence of a man who has shaken off the yoke of discipline. Then he was ashamed of the life he led, whilst he thought of his companions, so modest and so regular, and he at length regretted his inconstancy.¹

If he suspected that some secret sin was the cause of the temptation to leave the Society, he would often relate to the novice, very circumstantially, *the excesses of his own worldly life*, so as to inspire him with candour.²

Ignatius evinced the greatest tenderness in the care of the sick ; he would spare nothing for their benefit, and if money was wanting, he sold the furniture to procure succour.

One of the fathers was tormented with melancholy ; Ignatius ordered some of the novices who could play on certain instruments, and could sing well, to give a concert round the atrabilarian's couch.³

He often inflicted very severe penances for slight faults, in order to prevent the growth of abuses ; he opposed strenuously all innovation in the Society, attempted under the name of improvement ; he insisted on the perfection of his men, but checked the inclinations of his disciples at court, when he imagined they were striving too eagerly to recommend themselves to the favour of the great, which, it seems, was already evident in the case of the Jesuit Araos, at the court of

¹ Bouhours.² Id.³ Id.

Spain. He seems already to have divined one of the causes which would be the ruin of his Society—the abuse of courtly influence.

Such is his method, as described by his Jesuit-biographers.¹ Perpetually we have before us alleged spiritual ends effected by natural means,—admirably adapted and unerringly precise. At times we fancy we are reading the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, or the *Letters* of Chesterfield, adapted to the ends of religious perfection. In every page we have proofs of devotion—of *spiritual* passion as contradistinguished from that whose object is sensual gratification. Ignatius applies in the training of his novice, as we have seen, all the means that the most cunning and crafty of men employ to compass their ends. He naturally succeeds—then calls the result “approved virtue,” “weaning from the world, and from self,” “relish for the maxims of the Gospel,” “the way of perfection.”

All is a splendid piece of machinery—a complicated but regular clock-work, kept in good repair, and constantly wound by a powerful motive, perfectly similar, in its effects, to that which actuates the long-nailed, paralysed, long-haired, dust-covered penitent of Brahma in his hideous transformation. What is that *motive*?

Each novice, each Jesuit, must necessarily differ in motive, according to natural disposition: but its intensity will be the same in all—because every natural disposition is studied, and developed, and appealed to by the same objects (under different names) which roused its energies before. The Jesuit system does not transform a man: it does not stifle the passions.

¹ Bouhours. *La Vie de S. Ign.* ii. pp. 23—24.

It changes the objects of his motive : his hopes and fears are kept alive perpetually, by his rules and regulations, and his work in hand. What is good in a man it does not essentially alter : what is bad (according to common opinion) it permits to remain under a different name : it uses both good and bad, indifferently, to compass an end. The German's frolic in the novitiate, (of which we have read), and the trainer's method to extort a confession, are strong facts : the Jesuits themselves relate them : if untrue, they nevertheless attest an approved system, offered for imitation. Such facts as these—the whole life of Ignatius (that *Cyropædia* of the Jesuits, or model of fact and fiction)—evolve the history of the Jesuits more satisfactorily than the violent denunciations of their enemies, or the gushing laudations of their friends.

There are facts in the life of Ignatius which make us wish to believe that his followers have belied him, in representing their founder in other circumstances, which compel us to believe him an ^{Ignatius} arch-deceiver. ^{founds houses} By his steady, unflinching ^{of refuge.} perseverance, he merited success. His determined efforts necessitated achievement. His ambition was to gain the whole world by the means he invented or concocted. If there was more policy than human benevolence in his nature, it mattered not, as far as mankind are concerned. Thousands were benefited by his head, if not by his heart. He opened a house of refuge for unfortunate women, and called it *Martha* : he opened another for endangered maidens, and called it *Catharine*. Neither of them did he call *Magdalen*. It seems as though he would delicately spare a blush to cheeks that wished to blush no more, by not perpetually reminding

them by that usual name, of what they had been, and what they were required to become in return for—board and lodging. Ignatius actually put himself at the head of the penitent troop, and conducted them to the Martha. He knew how the degraded would feel that honour, and what the world would think of it: it was a fine sight to see, however. It is a wretchedly poor Christian sentiment to feel indignantly scornful of woman's degradation, by way of making her conscious of her iniquity. Full many would rise from the awful mire—the dismal torments of their crime—were they not irrevocably branded for ever—unutterably despised,—whilst he who has caused or shared the crime is not the less unworthy of leading to the altar the fairest, the purest, the richest of the land.

Ignatius founded houses for orphans of both sexes. He touched the hearts of Rome: they opened, and enabled him to be the kind father of the Asylum for orphans. fatherless, the hopeless. He had a predecessor in this noble work, whose example was not thrown away on the founder of the Jesuits. A few years before, famine and disease had devastated the north of Italy. Many an orphan there was hopeless and without a helping hand. Castaway they were; but the million eyes of Providence looked sweetly upon them, and stirred the Bethesda of the human heart. A Venetian senator, Girolamo Miani, made a gathering of these cares of Heaven, received them in his own house—nay, he sought them out, even as the man anxiously seeking his hundredth sheep. His sister-in-law scolded him roughly, talked of his ruining himself, beggary for the comfort of strangers, and what not—the usual predictions that selfishness invents to clutch a copper or a

morsel of bread. Girolamo heeded her not. He was a rich man : he had patronised the arts and the trades by collecting costly plate and the handsomest tapestry ; and now he would patronise the fatherless, and see if he would not enjoy himself more thereby. He sold his plate and his tapestry to get these poor little ones food, raiment, and instruction—food and raiment for body and soul together. A good thought, and a right good method, and most likely to succeed—for a sermon with a loaf is infinitely better than a text without one to the famishing poor and the helpless orphan. Girolamo found encouragement—which speaks a good word for that bad age—and so the good man set to work with heart and soul, and multiplied his charity. Sweet it is to see a good thought and a good deed expanding—even as a drop of cold water to a big warm ocean. At Verona, at Brescia, Ferrara, Como, Milan, Pavia, and Genoa, he established houses of refuge for the same good purpose. Now, good as well as evil will sometimes find followers, imitators,—and friends joined Miani. A congregation was enlisted amongst the regular clergy, and statutes were drawn up, on the model of the Theatines. The main object of the confraternity was extended from the care of orphans to that of unfortunate women. This was the Society *di Somasca*, founded by the good Miani, and approved by Paul III., in the year 1540, when he established the Jesuits. Here was a great enterprise, a noble speculation. Poor, helpless children its object, degraded but repentant woman its care. It succeeded. Earth and Heaven rejoiced, and blessed the good thought of the good Miani. It cost him his plate, and it cost him his pictures : but these were nothing in his estimation as compared to the joy

he felt when the work was done. That is the time to compute your loss and your gains—and not till then. . . . Ignatius followed in the track of the good Miani, and cared for poor women and orphans. Let not the imitation diminish applause; it were better to cheer the deed, and wish for it a thousand imitators. And behold how, even to the present day, young orphan hearts are grateful to Ignatius. These orphan asylums founded by Ignatius, still subsist, now under the direction of old Girolamo's brethren, the Somasques; and every 31st of July, these children go to the church of the *Grèsu*, and in remembrance of him who furnished an asylum for so many generations of orphans, they serve at the masses which are celebrated on the day of his festival.¹

And the children of Israel, too, claimed his attention. Many were converted. Ignatius founded a house for them, and if he did not hold out mercenary motives for their conversion, as is asserted—
Asylum for converted Jews.
so desperate was his zeal—he sheltered, he fed, he instructed, or got them instructed, on their becoming Christians. He induced the pope to issue a mandate, by which Jewish children, who would turn Christians contrary to the will of their parents, should have all the wealth of the latter—*imo vero Judæorum liberis ad Christum contra parentum voluntatem venientibus, bona ipsorum omnia integra omnino essent.*² Bôuhours, however, says that they "*en hériteraient*"—would inherit:—but this translation suits the times, not the original.³ All money got by usury—the lawful owners being unknown—should fall to these converts; and a tax for the same object was levied on all the synagogues

¹ Cretineau, i. 189.² Ribaden. lib. iii. c. ix.³ Vie, i. 301.

of Italy.¹ Hard conditions for the poor Jews decidedly : but the *end* was good. They had only to be "converted : " its premium would be bodily rest and exemption from taxation. That "only" was nothing to Ignatius, but what a bitter thing it was to the children of Judah. In truth, it was better to be a Jew, with taxation, than a "Christian" converted by such a motive. Not for the Jews alone did Ignatius yearn in his world-craving ambition. The Turks, the infidels of every clime—all were invited to enter the house of the catechumens.

In the midst of these labours, Ignatius followed in spirit all the journeyings of his distant disciples and apostles. At a time when epistolary communication was both difficult and slow, and constantly endangered by the shifting scenes of war, Ignatius found the means of frequent correspondence. His craft and skill triumphed over every obstacle. He constantly knew the exact state of the missions, and could console, direct, and cheer his men in their ceaseless labours.² He was the centre of his magic circle, thoughtful, looking into the future : his every Jesuit was a radius thereof, constantly progressing to the brink of the universe. And he was become the magnet, the motive-power of the moral world in the sixteenth century. As he had his apostles scattered over the world, whose achievements his will and approbation promoted, so had he friends in almost every court of Europe, whose good-will he insured by his extraordinary tact and discretion. He corresponded with John III. of Portugal ; with Ferdinand, the king of the Romans ;³

He is himself
the refuge of
kings and
princes.

¹ Ribaden. *ubi supra*.

² Cretineau, i. 184.

³ This title was given to the prince next in succession to the Emperor of

with Hercules d'Este, Duke of Ferrara ; with Albert of Bavaria, and the notorious Philip II. of Spain, when Charles had flung on his shoulders the gloomy destinies of his kingdom. He "directed" Margaret of Austria, the daughter of Charles V. Meanwhile he watched with the same solicitude over the imperfections of the least novice in the Society, as over the greatest interests concerning which the powers of Europe craved counsel.¹ An example will show the man's boundless influence.

A difference arose between the pope and the king of Portugal. The Cardinal Alexander Farnese, the pope's nephew, obtained the cardinal's cap from
 An example. Paul III., for his friend, Michael de Silva, a Portuguese, then Bishop of Viseu, in Portugal. The king objected to the nomination, on the score of privilege : the subject was to owe that promotion only to his king. De Silva fled from his bishopric to Rome, where he was publicly and right honourably invested with the cherished purple. Vengeance pursued the ambitious fugitive : he was deposed from his bishopric, and deprived of its revenues, by royal mandate. The Vatican consoled the rebellious subject by investing him with power. De Silva was appointed apostolic legate at the court of Charles V. The quarrel was likely to become conspicuous, serious consequences to the Church, in those ticklish times, were apprehended, and the pope "complained to Ignatius,"—such are the Jesuit's words—respecting the conduct of John III. The universal man wrote to Lisbon, where his advice was well received. He negotiated with the pope and the cardinal. He

Germany. It originated with the eldest son of Charlemagne. Napoleon gave it to his son in the cradle.

¹ Cretineau, i. 231.

was successful : a clever compromise ensued. It is very characteristic. The king restored the episcopal revenues to the ex-bishop, and the pope granted the king considerable privileges in favour of the *Inquisition* established in his kingdom.¹ These external occupations never interfered with his domestic duties : the concerns of kings and queens revealed to him the wants of the age. These it was his object to supply by his method. His credit with the princes of the earth was, therefore, of infinite service to the general of a company, whose men should go forth perfectly trained, and instructed in all matters in which they might be called to take a part. The art of government is based on the knowledge of men and measures.

Already had Ignatius been opposed by rancorous enemies ; his men were accused of the foulest practices. They were denounced as heretics ; they were charged with revealing the secrets of the confessional ; but the accusations were not satisfactorily brought home ; the accuser, a priest of Rome, was punished with perpetual imprisonment "for certain crimes at last revealed," says the Jesuit biographer.² The opponents of the Jesuits are invariably represented in the worst light by their historians and friends ; an imputation, an innuendo, a slur, a stab in the dark, are freely administered. Whatever foundation there may have been for the charges above named, it is impossible to discover ; the Jesuits were acquitted by the papal authorities, and the charges are, in their broad announcement, improbable : they are incompatible with the present views of the Society. It had no leisure for crime : its virtue was high in the market : policy,

Foul charges
against the
Jesuits.

¹ Bouhours, ii. 21—23.

² Ribaden. lib. iii. c. xii.

if no higher motive existed, must have made the first Jesuits chaste, discreet, and orthodox. At all events, strong in papal protection, patronised by the potentates of earth, increasing in strength and numbers, in a word, with their glorious prospect, they could bid defiance to their enemies, whose discomfiture they pictured as the judgment of Heaven.



NO ARROW STRIKES THE SUN.¹

¹ Quisquis es, insanis frustra conatibus uti
 Desine : nam Solem nulla sagitta ferit.—*Imago*, p. 565.
 Vain are your efforts ! Stay your aims begun—
 Fools that you are ! No arrow strikes the Sun.

BOOK V. OR, SALMERON.

ITS presiding genius, the vigilant Ignatius, beheld the enlarging scope of his enterprise ; events aided in its development. The Council of Trent super-
vened. An appeal had been made by the The Council of Trent. Protestants, to a General Council of the Christian Church, for a judgment on the doctrines in litigation. Other motives, in other quarters, as the reader is aware, urged the measure on the pope in spite of his reluctance. He feared for his prerogatives. With regard to the Protestants, the decisions of such a council *must* be condemnatory. There could be no compromise in favour of litigants whose cause of contest—whose *protest* had been already judged, already condemned, by the very authority which would preside in a “Council of the Christian Church.” Pope Clement VII. had announced his acquiescence in 1530 ; he died and left the fulfilment to Paul III.

The Council opened on the 13th of December, 1545, in the cathedral of Trent. It was destined to prolong its sessions, or sittings, for the space of eighteen years. Its object was to define, from Its object. the arguments and opinions of the bishops and other

dignitaries, the fathers and doctors of Roman Catholic Christendom, past and present, the doctrines and discipline of the Roman Catholic Church. Its decisions would be final ; anathema would be superadded to every clause against the presuming dissentient.¹ It would be the utter annihilation of heresy, as was fondly imagined. In a speech delivered at the opening of the Council, Bishop Cornelius Musso told the prelates assembled that they "should come into that city like as the worthy and valiant Greek captains went into the wooden horse wherewith Troy was taken by surprise."²

The infant Company of Jesus had flung into the controversial arena wrestlers of nerve and agility—an earnest she had given of the coming epoch, when her arsenal would send forth the armaments which blazed to the world as fire-ships of equivocal destination : only results would prove whether they destroyed the enemies of Rome, or damaged the cause for which they were fighting. Two Jesuits, Lainez and Salmeron, were selected by the pope as theologians of the Holy See ; another Jesuit, Lejay, represented the Cardinal Bishop of Augsberg. This distinguished honour rivetted the eyes of the "religious" world on the young Society, so fondly rocked and cherished by the Father of the Faithful. Lainez and Salmeron were young ; the former numbered but thirty-four years, the latter not quite thirty-one ; but both were old in experience, and that constitutes the maturity of man. Ignatius gave them a preparatory lecture adapted to the occasion, and similar

¹ See the "Canons" following the Sessions. Each begins with "Si quis dixerit—if any one shall say," and ends with "Anathema sit—let him be anathema."—*Il Sacro Conc. di Trento*.

² Peignot, *Predicat.* p. xix. and elsewhere.

to that which he addressed to the Irish legates. After becomingly insisting on the standard preliminaries, the greater glory of God, the good of the universal church, and due regard for their own spiritual advancement, he proceeds to display his habitual tact and dexterity as follows :—

“ In the Council you must be rather slow than eager to speak—deliberate and charitable in your advice on matters doing, or to be done ; attentive and calm in listening—applying yourself to seize the mind, intention, and desires of the speakers,—so that you may know when to be silent or to speak. In the discussions which shall arise you must bring forward the arguments of the two opinions in debate, so that you may not appear attached to your own judgment. You ought always to manage, according to your ability, so that no one leaves, after your speech, less disposed to peace than he was at first. If the matters which shall be discussed are of a nature to force you to speak, express your opinion with modesty and serenity.

“ Always conclude with these words : Better advice, or every other equivalent, excepted.

“ In fine, be well persuaded of one thing, which is, that befittingly to treat the important questions of the divine and human sciences, it is very advantageous to discourse seated, and calmly, and not hastily, and, as it were, superficially. You must not, therefore, regulate the order and time of the discussion by your leisure and convenience, but take the hour of the party who wishes to confer with you, so that he may more easily advance to the point to which God wishes to lead him In hearing confessions, think that all you say to your penitents may be published on the house-tops.

By way of penance, enjoin them to pray for the Council. In giving the Exercises speak as you would in public.

"You will visit the hospitals by turns every four days,—each once a-week, at hours not inconvenient to the sick. You will soothe their afflictions, not only by your words, but by carrying to them, as far as you will be able, some little presents. In fine, if to settle questions, brevity and circumspection are necessary, so to excite piety, we ought, on the contrary, to speak with a certain degree of diffuseness and in a kindly manner.

"The third point remains, which concerns the care of watching over yourselves, and guarding against the shoals to which you will be exposed. And though you ought never to forget the essential of our Institute, you must nevertheless remember, above all, to preserve the strictest union and most perfect agreement of thoughts and judgment among yourselves. Let no one trust to his own prudence: and, as Claude Lejay will soon join you, you will fix a time every day to confer on what you shall have done during the day, and on what you are to do on the morrow. You will put an end to your discussions either by the vote of the majority, or in any other way. In the morning you will deliberate in common on your line of conduct during the day: moreover, you will examine your consciences twice a-day.

"You will put these points into execution, at the latest, on the fifth day after your arrival at Trent."¹

The conclusion of this document reminds us of those haughty mandates of Spain's proud royalty, signed with the whelming *Yo EL REY*—I the king—the sign manual of the kings of Spain. Nothing but this is

¹ Cretineau-Joly, *Hist. t. i. p. 252*; Orland. v. 23.

wanting to prove how fully Ignatius began to feel his sovereignty. These documents are useful : they are the full-length portrait of Ignatius, displaying, as the documents of Cromwell, that deep shade of religionism which renders more striking the prominent light of policy. And how completely is the general convinced of his power, his influence. He defines the conduct of his men as though he were dangling and adjusting the limbs of a doll. Again, mark the curious injunction that they should make "small presents" to give more effect to their spiritual consolations—one of those trivial facts in appearance, which we overlook, until the knowledge of mankind and the secret of success flash on the mind from the eyes of experience. In truth, seldom have the Jesuits said to the needy—A *pater-noster* you are welcome to, but neither gold nor silver : seldom have they said so, because seldom it was that they could afford to lose an opportunity of making friends. From first to last, I unhesitatingly assert, they have given some real or seeming equivalent to the body, the brain, or the stomach, in return for the soul of their proselytes. "All these things I will give you if ——" said the Jesuits ; and poor humanity, ever fooled, ever wretched, ever guideless, could scarcely be expected to say : "Get thee behind me, Satan." The Jesuits made them happy, comfortable in body and soul, at least they thought so ; and men were justified in being grateful to their benefactors, as long as they believed them such—until they discovered the tail of the devil somewhere protruding.

The general's instructions were fulfilled to the letter. Surrounded by princes, ambassadors, prelates, and abbots—all in gorgeous habiliments, with prodigal display,

each striving to maintain the reputation of unapproachable magnificence—the three Jesuits applied themselves to more important matters, as the case required—to the work in hand. They preached, they heard confessions, and catechised. They begged alms, and distributed it to the poor. They gave their services to the hospitals. By these offices of charity they prepared the way for expressing their opinions with effect and consistent dignity; and conciliated to themselves among all ranks the greatest authority and favour.¹ Faithful to the letter of their vow, they were wretchedly dressed; the pope's theologians appeared in rags. Imagine the effect in that proud assembly. They inspired contempt in many, and struck horror into the Spaniards—*erant plerisque despectui, et ipsis quodammodo Hispanis horroni*. Display and proud magnificence were the simplicity of God's ministers. Outward pomp was the representative of inward humility. Had Paul the tent-maker lived,² he might have made a canopy for some great bishop, and stood outside, to hear his Epistles "wrested," as Peter complains (2 Peter, iii. 16), for the sake of orthodoxy in pomp triumphant. And he would have seen how his successors, the magnificent dignitaries of the church, took umbrage at the rags of long-headed, deep-witted Jesuits, who knew what they were about. The Jesuits could not be endured in their selected, if not select accoutrement. The delicacy of episcopal pride turned up its nose, fairly revolted at wisdom in rags. The Jesuits were quite "indifferent" to the thing: *they* could sacrifice to the Graces as well as to expediency, and so they made themselves decent,

¹ "His videlicet caritatis officiis certam sibi viam, &c."—*Orland.* vi. 22.

² See Acts, xviii. 3.

corporibus suis est adhibitus cultus, and put on new dresses presented to them by one of the cardinals. Thus they acquired dignity in the Holy Council of Trent—*quo majore cum dignitate prodirent*.¹

Layneze and Salmeron at once took a high position in the Council. Ignatius had commanded them never to pledge themselves to an opinion verging on innovation: they stood forward the champions of rigid orthodoxy. The thorny, interminable doctrine of Justification mystified the first sittings. Seripando, the general of the Augustines, attempted a modification of the papal dogma, distinguishing between Justification indwelling and inherent, and Justification applied and imparted—asserting the latter alone to be the Christian's confidence—man's righteousness being only inchoate, imperfect, full of deficiencies.² The Jesuits opposed the Augustines with all their might. Layneze was engaged to analyse the whole subject. With prodigious labour he produced a volume of heads and arguments.³ The majority gave into his decisions: his commentary was enrolled in the acts of the Council; and he was thenceforward appointed to sift in like manner all the topics in discussion.

Vast must have been the labours of this Jesuit. On one occasion, with characteristic audacity, Layneze exclaimed:

"Since the dogmas of the Faith cannot be defined but according to the Scriptures and the holy Fathers, I shall not cite in defence of my opinion, any text, either of Father or Doctor of the Church, without having read his *entire work*—without extracting every passage,

¹ Orland. vi. 23; Cretineau, i. 256.

² See Ranke, b. ii., for an account of the matter, and a curious note to the above; also Sarpi and Pallavicino in their antagonist histories.

³ Orland. vi. 27; Cretineau, *ubi supra*.

proving to demonstration the real opinion of the author."

This was but the prelude to an overwhelming display. On that very day was mooted the subject of the Eucharist. In the midst of the most profound silence, made deeper than usual by the general curiosity produced by his promise, and the desire to entrap a Jesuit, Laynez spoke, and brought forward the opinions of *six-and-thirty* Fathers, or Doctors of the Church! Among the rest he cited Alphonso Tostat, whose writings were so voluminous, that, it is said, the whole life of a man would not suffice for their perusal.¹ Laynez had, however, studied them so well, and so perfectly seized their meaning, that the theologians were forced to accept his conclusions, deduced by a method of discussion so extraordinary, at a time when the art of printing had not multiplied books and scattered manuscripts. Laynez established his fame, but ruined his health: the result of his efforts was a fever, which compelled him to absent himself from the Council. This casualty proved the estimation in which he was held. The Council suspended its sittings until his recovery. At least, so the Jesuits assure us.² No greater honour could be reflected on the Society than that one of her members should be deemed absolutely necessary to the General Council of the Christian Church. Meanwhile, urged by the solicitations of the Catholics, Charles V. declared war against the Protestants, who refused to acknowledge the

¹ He was a Spaniard, Doctor of Salamanca and Bishop of Avila, A.D. 1400—1454. An edition of his works, published at Cologne, 1642, extends to seventeen volumes in *folio*. Bellarmine called him "the world's wonder." His epitaph was—

"Hic stupor mundi, qui scibile discutit omne."

"Wonder of earth, all man can know he scanned."

² Orland. xi. 38; Cretineau, *ubi supra*.

authority of the Council. Frederick, Duke of Saxony, and William, Landgrave of Hesse, their leaders, marched against the imperial forces, with an army of more than eighty thousand men. The city of Trent was menaced : the Council was suspended. At its re-opening we shall again witness the triumphs of Laynez. Other heroes, other exploits of the Jesuits have arrested the world's admiration.

We have beheld the first struggles and the first triumphs of the Society. Man, grateful man, but ever alive to what he conceives his "best interests," was eager to reward his masters or his servants —for the Jesuits were ready to be either, as circumstances permitted or expediency required. Man offered all he had to give : the Jesuits insisted on choosing for themselves. The bishopric of Trieste fell vacant. The "honour" was offered to a Jesuit. Ferdinand, King of the Romans, had the nomination : he cast his eyes on the Jesuit Lejay. A famous man was this Lejay. At Ratisbon, at Ingolstadt, at Nuremberg, he had scattered terror in the camp of the heretics, whence he had snatched many a convert to recruit the papal army. Trieste, situated on the very brink of the heretic land—Luther's Germany—could not have a bishop too Catholic nor too vigilant. Such a warrior of the Faith would be a Samson against the Philistines of Protestantism—doing battle for the chosen people. Thence he could point his left, *heart-wise*, to Rome aslant the Adriatic, whilst his right could "shake a dreadful dart" against Tyrol and the hills beyond. Lejay must be the man—so the Catholic cause seemed to demand. Such a champion was imperatively required. The *Church*—so dear to Father Ignatius and Paul III.

Lejay refuses
to be made a
bishop—
why?

—seemed to crave the boon of the Jesuit-bishop—seemed to crave it wringing her hands. The Jesuit declined the honour, notwithstanding. His general declined it: it was contrary to the Constitutions of the Society: it was manifestly inexpedient to the Company. For, should the precedent be once established, the Society might, in the process of time, be deprived of her best men, her most brilliant members. It would be the death of the Society.¹ Ignatius reminded the king, in a determined letter, that the Company had been formed with but one object fixed in the mind of each member, namely, to scour every region of the globe at the nod of the pope, in behalf of the Catholic faith. The pope had approved their efforts, nay God himself had done so. Let him look at the results of their enterprise. To remain as they were was a guarantee to the duration of their Company: to permit an innovation in the original conception would be its ruin. Hence he might clearly see what a plague, what a pest it would be if the Company undertook to make bishops—*quanta nobis pestis Episcopaliis recipiendis impendeat*.² With such and similar arguments, Ignatius got rid of the disastrous honour, which he begged to decline; and gave occasion to the sarcastic pope to exclaim: "This is the first time that a prince has heard such a request"³—thus keenly insinuating, perhaps for all times and churches, a rebuke to ecclesiastical ambition. But Ignatius knew what he was about. A Jesuit was to march from city to city, from province to province, was to fly from pole to pole at the first sign of Christ's vicar: such was the founder's

¹ "Quam ea res Societati noxia, quamque periculosa foret."—*Orland.* vi. 33.

² *Orland.* vi. 34. There are fifteen reasons discovered by Orlandinus why the Society should eschew dignities. *Loc. cit.*

³ *Cretean.* i. 281.

idea,¹ and we may add, *he* was perfectly right in believing that the Society best deserved her best men—particularly in the hour of her struggle for the palm. Hereafter she would give from her superabundance—*when expedient*. In the following year, 1547, Bobadilla, the bolt of controversy, refused a similar honour—the bishopric of Trent.

Bobadilla was the indefatigable opponent of Protestantism in Germany. He accompanied the pope's nuncio to the court of Charles V. Controversy ran high: all Germany was intent on the "religious" question. There was a conference

Charles V.'s
Interim, and
the Jesuit
Bobadilla.

at Ratisbon: Bobadilla rushed to the encounter. It availed little. Nothing could be decided where all was at stake, and nothing would be conceded on either side. The Jesuit pleased the Catholics, and Charles resolved, in the same conventicle, "to silence with the relentless sword the iron mouth of the Protestants, which neither imperial majesty nor the holy authority of the council could break or stop—*ferreum os Protestantium pertinaci ferro subigere*, and to crush with severity those whom he could not bend by *his* clemency. The emperor's indignant energies were stimulated by the salient earnestness of the pope, who, resolved to spare neither expense nor anxiety in crushing those plagues,

¹ Bouhours, ii. 47. This Jesuit puts also the following blast in the mouth of Ignatius on this occasion, addressed to the pope, "whilst recalling his ancient military notions—en rappelant ses anciennes idées de guerre:"—"I consider all the other religious societies as squadrons of soldiers who remain at the post assigned by honour; who keep their ranks, who front the enemy, always preserving *the same order of battle and the same method of fighting*; but as for ourselves, we are scouts who, in alarms, in surprises by night and by day, ought to be ever ready to conquer or die; we ought to attack, to defend according to circumstances,—to throw ourselves on every point, and keep the enemy everywhere in watch."—Bouhours, ii. 46.

had sent a large army, under his grandsons Octavius and Alexander Farnese, to join the imperial forces. So far the Jesuit historians; but they omit to state that the same crafty pope *recalled* those troops at the very moment when they were most needed, and left the emperor "in the lurch."¹ Thus, to suit his own purposes, he virtually became an ally of the Protestant cause. The interests of Catholicism were in his *head*—his own interests, and those of his family, were in his *heart*. The emperor's increasing success might spread encroachment to the papal throne: private interests decided the pope's neutrality on that remarkable occasion. But the emperor's good fortune baffled the wily pontiff. The victory of Muhlberg consoled the emperor for the pope's treachery. The pope's grandson did not share the laurels of Orthodoxy: but the son of Loyola—the Jesuit Bobadilla—in the foremost ranks fell wounded in the head. The thickness of his head-gear broke the violence of the blow, which had otherwise been mortal.² A few days after the battle, he preached at Passau. In a Protestant city the bold Jesuit announced a solemn thanksgiving to the "God of Armies" for the victory of the Catholic cause. Then through Germany he hurried,

¹ See Ranke, p. 66, and Robertson, Charles V. iii. 112, for the pope's political reasons. Capefigue also omits the fact—*La Ref. et la Ligne*, 146. So, also, Orlandinus, Cretineau, &c. Amongst the prodigies related as occurring during the battle, the Spaniards said that "the sun stood still, as at the command of Joshua." You will find a most amusing discussion, and refutation of these prodigies by the Jesuit Maimbourg, in his "*Histoire du Lutheranisme*," ii. p. 55. The Jesuits are great sceptics in other people's inventions, probably because they diminish the wonder of their own.

² Bobadilla's post was to attend the wounded; but the ardent Jesuit would mingle in the fray, *quippe res gerebatur ardens*, with his exhortations, and promises of victory. The day before the battle of Muhlberg, or Mulhausen, he was in the foremost ranks at the crossing of the Elbe. Boucher, in his "dramatic" history of the Jesuits, shows us Bobadilla mounted on a splendid charger, crucifix in hand, and dashing over the dying and the dead.

preaching controversy as he went. His flaming eloquence was heard at Augsburg, Cologne, and Louvain, where flourished a college of the Company, founded by Lefevre. At length, proud in unconquerable zeal, Bobadilla reached the imperial court, to be taken aghast by the compromising *Interim*, just published by the emperor. *Interim* means *meanwhile*, and it was the name given to a theological treatise, whose *temporary* regulations, pending the final decisions of the Great Council, were intended by the framers, Pflug, Helding, and Agricola, as a pacification sanctioned by the emperor, a healing to the religious mind of Germany, wounded, torn, ulcerated by its interminable polemical discussions.¹ The pope's late

¹ Luther was no more : he died in 1546. Orlandinus, the Jesuit, celebrates the reformer's death with horrible intensity. He says : " But whilst the Emperor, by the terror of arms, and the Pope by the General Council, are defending the ancient religion from the fury of the heretics, God as it were joining with them in a certain conspiracy, snatched from among men that portent of the universe, the sower of all evils, the anti-christ of these times. I am ashamed to call this infernal monster by his name—*piget infernum hoc monstrum suo nomine nominare*. That renegade of the Catholic religion, I say, that deserter of the cloister, renewer of all heresies, that detestation of God and men, in the twenty-second year of his falling off, after having supped sumptuously and splendidly, and sported with his jests as usual, on that very night, gripped and strangled by a sudden malady, vomited forth his most ungodly soul, a most savoury victim for Satan, who delights in such dishes, wherewith he satiates his maw—*repentino morbo correptus, jugulatusque sceleratissimam animam vomuit, gratissimam Satanæ hostiam, qui se talibus oblectat escis, unde ejus saturetur ingluvies*. At this announcement, the Catholic religion might have taken breath, being relieved of such a weight ; all good men, all the orthodox, might celebrate a holiday—*diem festum agere*—if he had utterly perished ; but the venomous chieftain left behind his viper-progeny over the whole earth, to the huge detriment of the Catholic interest—*rei catholicæ labe*—and he lives still in his seed, not less destructive to the human race, now that he is dead, than when he was alive. For where do not exist the impressed footmarks of his enormous crimes ! We behold, with mighty grief, altars overturned, cloisters demolished, all that is sacred polluted ; in fine, the uttermost devastation left by him in the widest kingdoms of Europe, and its provinces. WHEREFORE, our men must work the more vigorously, in order to kill and extinguish, as much as in them lies, all the disseminators of this fury, by throwing together the defences of the most excellent sanctity and doctrine ; and let them

conduct towards the emperor threw the whole burthen of the war on the emperor's shoulders : he was anxious to get rid of it, and was probably disgusted with the thought that he had been fighting for a cause which the wily pope made a convenience. Whatever were his motives in putting forth the *Interim*, it had the usual effect of toleration among men utterly maddened by the strong drinks of their "religious" opinions. In the estimation of the Catholics its concessions went too far : in the opinion of the Protestants it did not concede enough. In fact, all the essential doctrines and rites of Catholics seemed to be retained, but softly expressed, or set off with scriptural phrase, and muzzled by ambiguity. Certainly it permitted priests who had married, to retain their wives, and it indulged communion in both kinds, where the practice was established—and all only for a time, *until* the voice of the Great Council should boom like the last angel unto judgment. It was no finality—nothing to depend upon—nothing that you could sleep on for ever, and could leave for your children to appeal to, as a *Magna Charta* of freedom, civil and religious. It was only a temporary concession—a mere musty morsel flung to a ravenous mastiff until he can be gagged completely. Protestants and Catholics, then, inveighed against the *Interim* : the former as against a deception, the latter as a cowardly concession. At Rome, by Paul III., it was denounced as a deed of rashness in the emperor, who was likened unto Uzzah, whose unhallowed hand touched the Ark of the Lord. Papal and Church pride was shocked to think that the

be entirely persuaded that, with refractory men, and the enemies of the Catholic name, they have undertaken an eternal war—*sempiternum bellum sibi esse susceptum*."—Lib. vi. 59. It is only fair to state that the Jesuit Maimbourg does not "go to these extremes" on Luther's exit, i. 299.

emperor should dare to meddle with articles of faith and modes of worship. The pope had an emissary near the emperor—a man, a Jesuit, a host in himself, left behind when the pope's troops and grandsons deserted the emperor. Bobadilla's zeal knew no bounds. He attacked the Interim with his pen, and poured against it the flood of his eloquence. He struck hard, even in the imperial presence : *he* feared no man. Only one thing could be wisely done by the emperor at this bravado. He did *not* throw him into prison, starve, and stretch him on the rack, in order to make a martyr of an insolent, hot-headed, intolerant Jesuit, for universal admiration and worship. He quietly drove him out of court, and ordered him to leave the kingdom without a moment's delay. Proud of his banishment—he probably *expected* a more brilliant penalty—the Jesuit hastened to Rome, in hopes of a general glorification. What was his surprise to find a frown on the face of his general, Ignatius, who closed the door upon him, yea, shut him out from the House of the Professed, and turned the hero on the street “with his martial cloak around him.” Soon, however, he understood the whole matter, when the pope caressed him with “tacit approbation,” and when his astute general spoke loudly of the “Majesty of Kings,” but cleverly threw in a distinction that the hero “had at least sinned *formally*,” leaving the casuist to discover, if he could, the meaning. On the other hand, however, Ignatius was really anxious to give some little satisfaction to the emperor, who evidently had it in his power to injure not only the Society, but even the popedom—Rome herself—as had chanced before. Hence the seeming disgrace of the really triumphant Bobadilla. The emperor remained hostile to the Company : but it

was still a fine occasion for such a display, and the Jesuits have never lost such an opportunity to captivate the minds of men. On one occasion, when the Marquis d'Aguilar, in conversation with Ignatius, alluded to the reports against the new Society, and told him that he himself was suspected of concealing great ambition under a modest exterior, and that public rumour alleged a cardinal's cap or a mitre as the motive of his journey to Rome, Ignatius made no reply, but a sign of the cross: then, "as if suddenly inspired by God, he made a vow before the Marquis to accept no Church dignity unless compelled under penalty of sin, by the pope, and he repeated the vow some time after, in the presence of a cardinal."¹ The man who loses not an opportunity is only second to him who can make one.

Only seven years had elapsed since the foundation of the Society: they had sufficed to render her name famous among men; blessed by the majority of the Catholics, and detested by the Protestants. We have witnessed the exploits of her light troops in their rapid evolutions. In the defence of the faith she had hitherto battled with success. At the court of princes she was in favour. Priests and doctors of universities were crowding to her novitiates. Her arsenals, her numerous and flourishing colleges in many kingdoms, were filled with men skilfully, though bitterly trained, ready, eager for work. One thing was hitherto wanting, great in itself, but greater still in its endless consequences to the Company and to men—I allude to the *public instruction of youth*. On this founda-

The Jesuits
begin public
instruction.

¹ Bouhours, ii. 47. For all the facts of this section, see Orland. vi. 53, *et seq.*; ib. viii. 35; Cretineau, i. 284, *et seq.*; Bouhours, ii. 68, *et seq.*; Maimbourg, ii. 97, *et seq.*; Robertson, Charles V. iii. 172; Mosheim, ii., &c. &c.

tion the Jesuits will build their fortress of influence. Youth will be trained to love, to admire their teachers, and the Company to which these teachers belong ; for the Jesuit method will be one of fascination—a heart-penetrating, bewitching inculcation—full of sweets and flowers, natural and artificial—all that the young love dearly, and parents love to see ; all that all men would wish to achieve for the sake of partisan triumph, if not for the love of God and humanity. The standing motto—the ceaseless effort of the Jesuits will be “to conciliate the parents of their pupils to the Company,” and when this is accomplished, they will say : “It is good—it is well—parentes discipulorum nostrorum conciliare Societati :”¹ for the result hoped for, from all the works of charity which the Jesuits will perform, shall be an engulfing monopoly—“the result will be, that all will gladly run to us—hoc enim faceret, ut omnes ad nos libenter concurrerent.”² The rising generation will thus be in her interest ; and, therefore, in process of time, the risen generation will not be against her, but will rather fill her schools with another, and so on for ever ; as Ignatius prophesied, the Company will flourish, influence generating influence, as experience testifies, and as flies swarm in the shambles ; for *admiration*—look to it ye lions of a day—for admiration is a matter of *fashion*, as well as a lady’s habiliments. In the glorious day of Jesuit monopoly, let those beware who attempt to compete with the party. In all other hands white *must* be black, and it will be “godless” to give education—“godless” to teach a gulled nation, except

¹ Instruct. iv. 3.

² Ibid. Observe, I do not quote from the *Monita Secreta*, or Secret Instructions of the Jesuits, but a part of the *Institute*, edited by the General Aquaviva, and resolved in the Fifth Congregation.

by the Jesuits.¹ In possession of this immense fulcrum—public instruction according to the Jesuit method—should the Society ever lose her lever, it will prove, perhaps, that there is some radical defect, or positive error, in the conduct of her members, or their inculcations, or their system in general. It may turn out to be an abuse, say a partial abuse of what is good; if so, then there may be a hope that dispassionate men will acknowledge, adopt, and rejoice at, the discovery. The opportunity to commence public instruction was vouchsafed to the Jesuits in 1546. It was an interesting beginning.

The Duke of Gandia, Francis Borgia, gave Ignatius the opportunity to enter upon an enterprise so useful, and just then the subject of his thoughts.²

Gandia is a city in the south-east of Spain, in sunny Valencia. It looks upon the Midland Sea, and only Murcia separates it from Grenada, its Alhambra,—the Generalife,—its orange groves, crystal fountains, transparent pools, and memories of the past, those deathless thoughts of the wretched. The Duke of Gandia had a number of baptised Moors on his estates. They had been baptised, but the sacred water was no Lethe to *them*. They still thought of Grenada, its cruel fall, and sighed in their hearts: "Praise be to God! There is no God but one, and Mohammed is his prophet; and there is no power but from God."³

¹ I quote from the biting author of "Facts and Figures," and cannot avoid the pleasure of repeating his most vigorous stanza in full:—

" 'Tis 'godless' to give education,—
 'Tis 'godless' to teach a gulled nation,—
 But 'GODLIKE,' oh call it, to shoulder your wallet,
 Swelling huge in this hour of starvation!"—p. 17.

² Bouhours, ii. 48.

³ An inscription on one of the pillars of the Gate of Judgment, at the entrance to the Alhambra.—*Jacob's South of Spain*.

The greater part of these Moors had not cordially renounced Mohammedanism; the Duke of Gandia wished to insure the salvation of their children, the young *Moriscoes*.¹ For this purpose education was thought necessary, and the Jesuits were invited to commence operations. The children of all his vassals should reap the benefit. The first public college of the Society in Europe arose in the city of Gandia. The Duke applied to Ignatius; Lefevre, then at Valladolid, was ordered to transact the preliminaries, according to the general's views and intentions, and forthwith professors of five or six languages, learned men all, and selected by the general himself, took possession of the benches, and opened the classes, each with a Latin harangue before the duke and all his court.²

The first idea (the duke's) was to instruct the children of the Moors and those of his vassals, in the first elements. For this excellent purpose, huge professors of six languages, with Latin harangues, were surely not necessary; but they *were* necessary for the expanded idea (Ignatius's), which arose therefrom like the great black column from the sea (in the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments"), advancing, winding about, and cleaving the waters before it—then appearing what it was, a giant of prodigious stature,—and from the great glass box on his head (shut with locks of fine steel) leading forth a lady magnificently apparelled, of majestic stature, and a complete beauty—the lady of an hundred gallants, whose hundred token-rings she complacently dangled. The "first elements" were soon interpreted into "poetry,

¹ The name given to the Moors who remained in Spain after its restoration, and to their descendants, till expelled by Philip III., 1604. See, for an interesting account of this cruel expulsion, *History of Spain and Portugal*, "Library of Useful Knowledge," p. 141, *et seq.*

² Bouhours, ii. 49.

rhetoric, philosophy, and theology ;” and by the duke’s application to the pope and the emperor, the college was raised to an university—the rival of Alcala and Salamanca, with all their privileges, rights, and immunities. The professors were to adopt the best methods that could be devised, and in each faculty the solidest authors. Ignatius (who seems to have learnt enough by this time to become critical) appointed Aristotle for philosophy, and Saint Thomas in divinity. He recommended the masters vigorously to cultivate the memory in those pupils whose judgment was unformed ; to accustom them betimes to a good pronounciation in reciting what they committed to memory ; to rouse the youthful minds by continual disputations, in stimulating them with emulation, and sometimes pitting the most advanced and the cleverest with those who were less so, in order to animate some by glory, and others by shame.¹

The idle and licentious were to be punished, but the masters themselves were not to whip the boys. This prohibition would preserve their religious decorum, and prevent anger in the correction. There was to be a public corrector : if one could not be had, some means of castigation must be devised—either administered by one of the scholars themselves, or in some other convenient manner.²

The most refractory or scandalous scholars were to be expelled not only from the schools, but even from the very city, or imprisoned. Royal powers to that effect

¹ “ Qu’on éveillât ces jeunes esprits par des disputes continuelles, en les piquant d’émulation, et opposant quelquefois les plus avancés et les plus capables à ceux qui le seraient moins, pour animer les uns par la gloire, et les autres par la honte.” —*Bouhours*, ii. 51.

² Bouhours, the Jesuit, omits the last suggestions, which are given in the Constitutions, Part iv., c. 7, § 2, & D.

were to be obtained.¹ Such was the method by which the Jesuits proposed to cut admirable statues out of the roughest rock, the hardest marble.



THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH.²

The morals of youth were formed and promoted as follows :—Ignatius expressly forbade any Latin or Greek classic to be read, without being expurgated of its impurities : ³ the pupils were to hear mass daily, and go

¹ "Si scholasticus aliquis rebellis, vel sic offendiculi causa aliis esset, ut non solum scholiis eum, sed etiam civitate expelli, vel in carcerem conjici conveniret," &c.—*Const.*, part iv., c. xi. B.

² Πλάττετε τρισμάκαρες, καὶ γλάπτετε, ὃ νοσολύπται,
Ἐν τοῖσιν κεκρύβη θαύματα πλείστα πόνοισ.—*Imago*, p. 468.

Then carve on, and fashion, O thrice-happy sculptors of mind,—
In labours where thousands of wonders lie hid and confined.

³ If they cannot be thoroughly expurgated, such as "Terence," they were not to be read at all. Everybody knows what Byron said of the Delphin Classics with the objectionable passages at the end ; but an expurgated book, in the true

to confession every month (communion would, of course, depend upon their state of conscience).¹ At the commencement of class-hours, all should recite a devout prayer, to beg the grace of profiting by their studies.² Once a week they should be catechised in the doctrines of faith, and the principles of morality. In addition to this, the masters were to take every opportunity, in and out of class, to converse familiarly with their pupils on religious matters.³ The Jesuits represent the formal

sense, is one of the queerest looking things imaginable—lopped, blotted, scratched, and pasted over—giving the idea of a leper with his sores. Think of “Lemprière’s Classical Dictionary” expurgated for the use of Catholic students! Every page, every column disfigured with the plague-spots—heathen gods crippled in their wickedness, and goddesses cut short in their evil ways—heroes made decent by black ink, and kings justified by a penknife. These books are temptations to the young mind: its curiosity yearns to read what is denied. I do not speak from my own experience only. The look, the manner, a striking remark of a master on such passages, would obviate all the danger which curiosity prolongs in their absence. It has been thought that Christian works might be substituted for the classics—and La Croze accused Hardouin and the Jesuits of the intention—but the preference will always be given to the beautiful lepers of paganism. Jouvency the Jesuit, substituted passages for those expunged in Horace—for instance, Book i. Ode xxii., instead of the two last lines—

“Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
Dulce loquentem,”

he printed—

“Sola me virtus dabit usque tutum,
Sola beatum.”

¹ A Catholic must go to confession, but it is for the priest to judge whether he is in a fit state to receive absolution, which is the necessary preliminary to communion. A state of habitual mortal sin is the usual impediment.

² School hours conclude also with a prayer, preceded by an anthem to the Virgin. Every theme, translation, or other class-paper, is headed “To the greater glory of God,” in the respective languages, and at the end, “Praise God always.” All these regulations were in operation at St. Cuthbert’s college, where I studied about six years. It is not a Jesuit college, as some have asserted: but a Catholic secular college, organised on the Jesuit system of education. The history of this place is a monument of determined perseverance. The founder (Bishop Gibson) began to build with fourteen pounds only, and in about thirty years after the first stone was laid, the college was flourishing and funded. Like Stonyhurst, it is now affiliated to the London University.

³ Bouhours and Const., part iv.

devotion which resulted from their moral training by the following image of

A MONGREL EARNING HIS SUPPER.¹



Herein, at length, is the mighty hope fulfilled ! The Society has now the means of selecting from the infinite varieties of human character, intellect, external appearance, and dispositions—from the youth of all ranks—from the peasant up to the noble—vigorous, talented, handsome recruits, for self-expansion and faith-propagation.

“For as much,” say the Constitutions, “as good and learned men are comparatively but few,—and most of these are of an age to look for rest from their labours,—we conceive it to be extremely difficult to increase our Society by the accession of such men, seeing how great labours and self-denial its Institute

¹ “Nec capit ille cibum, dominas nisi supplice gestu
Et sibi munificas hæserit ante manus.”—*Imago*, p. 478.
“Nor shall he have his supper, till
He sits and prays against his will.”

requires. Wherefore all we, who desired its preservation and increase, for the greater praise and service of our Lord God, thought fit to pursue a different course, namely, to admit youths of a promising character and abilities, who are likely to become good and learned men, fit to cultivate the vineyard of Christ our Lord : also to admit colleges upon the terms set forth in the Apostolic letters, both in universities and elsewhere ; and if in the universities, whether they be placed under the charge of the Society, or not.”¹

Then, the indispensable “Spiritual Exercises” will fulfil their object—will enable the students to choose *a state of life*—for, “it may be truly said, that our Society has by *this* instrumentality, for the most part, come together from the beginning, and subsequently increased.”²

“*Licet moveri*,³ it is lawful to be influenced” to enter the Society, though heaven must confirm the impulse : here, then, is the field open : vigorous, talented, handsome youths stand in array—*licet moveri*—they may be influenced, *et cum merito*, and there’s merit in the thing.

Such was the beginning of Jesuit academical instruction. The University of Gandia was founded in 1546. Barcelona, Valencia, and Alcala, soon had colleges of the Society. Some were getting rich ; but others were poor, by the number of pupils which increased disproportionately to the revenues.⁴ Of course the Jesuits taught gratuitously.

¹ Const., part iv. Procm. Dec. A.

² Direct. Exerc. Spir. Procm. § 7 :—“ut verè dici possit, Societatem nostram hoc maxime medio et initio coaluisse, et postea incrementum accepisse.”

³ xam. Gen. c. iii. § 14. “Si affirmet se fuisse motum” [scil. à quopiam de Societate], quamvis licet et cum merito moveri potuisset, ad majorem tamen, &c. . . . Creatori et Domino suo se totum commendat, perinde ac,” &c.

⁴ Cretineau, i. 283.

We shall soon see the effects of these extensive operations ; once begun, their onward march was imperative ; and if jealousy envenomed the hearts of rival establishments, if it was but natural that the locust-like spread of the Jesuits should frighten the old established dignitaries of the Preceptorate, it is certain that the Jesuits cared little for their fright and jealousy. The Society's motto, " For the greater glory of God," the favour of the pope, the love of pupils, the admiration of parents, the support of kings and nobles, and, above all, their own determined energies, pushed the Jesuits onwards in their career, with more blessings than maledictions, consoled and rewarded for their labours, culling from each event the idea of another, which they soon produced. Le Sage observes that the virtues and the vices of men in authority do not escape the notice of the public ;¹ of this the Jesuits were always aware ; and endeavoured to provide against the rumour of vice by the scrupulous integrity of their men in authority, and the primitive fervour of their rules and regulations. The greatest discretion was becoming necessary to defend the characteristic boldness of the young Society ; but Ignatius was its vigilant guardian, always able to devise an escape from peril, to modify disaster, and, above all, to avoid unnecessary hazard in the Society's unlimited avocations, which were now becoming somewhat multitudinous.

A pious lady is on her way to Rome. The reader remembers the good Isabella Rosello, who was so kind to Ignatius in his troublous times at Barcelona. No stranger to the fame of her protégé was Isabella. Woman remembers more intensely those whom

Female
Jesuits.

¹ *Le Bachelier de Salamanque*, t. ii. p. 23.

she has favoured or befriended than those who have claims on her own gratitude; and to see the whole world honouring what she has honoured, loving what she has loved,—that is her soul's delight.

The holy man's exhortations, when he dwelt where she lodged him,¹ had fructified in his absence; she brings the fruit to the sower. She has resolved "to leave the world, and to live according to the evangelical counsels under the obedience of the Society."² *Obedient women! Obedient after the Jesuit fashion!*

This was certainly a fine idea. Female Jesuits! What a vista opens to the imagination at this idea! And Isabella was in earnest too, for she had gained two companions, "Roman ladies, very virtuous," and had even "obtained the pope's permission for herself and for her companions to embrace that kind of life."³

"The Puritans owed much of their success to female agency," says Bishop Lavington,⁴ "and the influence of the ladies is equally recognised at the present day. The result of experience has satisfactorily proved that the executive duties of Bible Associations are *best* conducted by FEMALES. Their example is powerfully interesting, and their exertions in this good cause have already been productive of a happy effect."⁵

But Father Ignatius was not to be entangled in this silken net; it promised nothing but confusion to the man of steady order and plain cause and effect. Brilliant as the scheme appeared at first sight, and so likely to be snatched up by your speculators—men of mere

¹ Bouhours, i. 126. "Où apparemment Isabelle Rosel l'avait mis."

² Id. ii. 52.

³ Id. ii. 62, *et seq.*

⁴ Methodists and Papists compared, Intro. sec. 29.

⁵ The Southwark Report, &c., pp. 55—67, quoted by the *Bishop*: the italics and capitals are *his*.

desire without judgment—it did not suit the man of the Constitutions.

Nevertheless, he was grateful to his benefactress, and the small number of these would-be Jesuit-nuns induced him to take care of them.¹

“Ladies, devout by profession,” says the Jesuit Bouhours, “do not always follow the advice given them, or do not yield in all things to the views of their Directors when these do not coincide with their own.”²

Ignatius had got into trouble before by devout ladies. Whilst engaged in his itinerant predications, two ladies of rank, among his followers, had set out on a penitential pilgrimage, dressed as beggars, on foot, and living by alms, to the shrine of Our Lady at Guadalupe, in Estremadura, a journey of forty days, which they performed, and returned to exculpate the preacher and get him out of prison, into which he had been thrown to expiate their freak, which he seems not to have approved of.³

This was sad experience to begin with, and the result was naturally unfavourable to Isabella and her companions. “He repented of his acquiescence, and once observed, that the government of three devout ladies gave him more trouble than the whole Society; for, in a word, it was an endless task with them, and it was necessary, every hour, to resolve their questions, cure their scruples, hear their complaints, and even to settle their quarrels”!⁴

Compelled by these strange manifestations, he explained to the pope how such a charge would injure the Society, and how important it was that his Holiness should grant his deliverance, for he saw plainly that

¹ Bouhours, ii. 53.

² Id. i. 144.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Id. i. 53.

this little community, now only consisting of three individuals, would in time become very numerous, and would multiply in other towns ; but the respect he felt for the Catalonian dame, from whom he had received so many favours, and who entreated him not to desert her, induced him to treat her respectfully, and he wrote her the following letter to get rid of her politely :—

“VENERABLE DAME ISABELLA ROZELLO,

“My Mother and my Sister in Jesus Christ.

“In truth, I would wish, for the greater glory of God, to satisfy your good desires, and procure your spiritual progress, by keeping you under my obedience, as you have been for some time past ; but the continual ailments to which I am subject, and all my occupations which concern the service of our Lord, or his Vicar on earth, permit me to do so no longer. Moreover, being persuaded, according to the light of my conscience, that this little Society ought not to take upon itself, in particular, the direction of any woman who may be engaged to us by vows of Obedience, as I have fully declared to our Holy Father the Pope, it has seemed to me, for the greater glory of God, that I ought no longer to look upon you as my spiritual daughter, but only as my good mother, as you have been for many years, to the greater glory of God. Consequently, for the greater service and the greater honour of the everlasting Goodness, I give you, as much as I can, into the hands of the Sovereign Pontiff, in order that, taking his judgment and will as a rule, you may find rest and consolation for the greater glory of the Divine Majesty. At Rome, the first of October, 1549.”¹

We can fancy the chagrin of the disconsolate Isabella. But we are assured that “this letter, which is full of the Saint’s spirit, and in which the words, which he had always in his mouth, are repeated so often, disposed the dame to receive with submissiveness the pope’s determination.”²

“Paul III., having well reflected that the missionaries destined for all the world, ought to have no engage-

¹ Bouhours, ii. 53, *et seq.*

² Id. ii. 55.

ment, expedited Apostolical letters, whereby he exempted the Jesuits from the government of women who might wish to live in community, or single, under the obedience of the Society."¹

Not content with this, Ignatius obtained in the following year, a mandate from the pope, by which the Society was, to all intents and purposes, exempted from the direction of nuns, which he prohibited to his Order, permitting the Jesuits, however, "to aid in their spiritual progress, and sometimes to hear their confessions for special reasons."²

Persisting in this unconquerable repugnance to the conscience of the fair sex, Ignatius refused the direction of a convent of nuns, although the request was made by Hercules d' Este, Duke of Ferrara, "the declared protector and faithful friend of the Society;"³ and, possessed by a similar terror, the seventh Congregation enacted that no Jesuit was to hear the confessions of women until he had two years' practice, at least, in confessing the other sex—the thing was not to be attempted before great labours had imparted maturity and fitness; and even then there was to be no superfluous conversation beyond the mere confession, even on spiritual topics, in the confessional. If special consolation or advice were required, it must be administered sitting, or standing, briefly and modestly, with downcast eyes: there should be some open and appropriate part of the church selected, whither women might go to speak with the Jesuits, and that briefly and seldom so as to give no cause for scandal, &c.,—and that all opportunity [of sin?] may be cut off, *ut omnis occasio præcidatur*.

¹ Bouhours, ii. 55.

² Id. ii. 56.

³ Id. ii. 57.

"If the penitents pretend scruples of conscience, the confessors are to tell them" not to relate tales and repeat trifles, and sometimes they are to silence them at once; for if they are truly disturbed by scruples of conscience, there will be no need of prolixity. If they want meditations, and spiritual exercises, give them the spiritual works of Grenada,¹ and others: the superior must be consulted in other cases. The same woman is not to be allowed to come to confession twice on the same day. *Visits* to women are severely restricted.—1st. They must be confined to women of rank and consequence.—2nd. These must have rendered important services to the Society.—3rd. The visits must be agreeable to the husband and relatives, &c."—and the following abuses must be sedulously extirpated, namely, "to give many hours to a few women, so that others lose the opportunity of confessing—to hinder others who desire it, from confessing, lest their *own spiritual daughters*, forsooth, (as they are wont to be called), should be compelled to wait"! ²

The infringement of the rules respecting the confessing of women was to be followed by suspension from the function, and it would be a serious matter for consideration whether the delinquents were to be retained in the Society, after infringing "in a point so grave, perilous, and severely enjoined."³ A *socius*, or companion, was always to be present at every visit—and he was to report to his superior if aught happened

¹ Louis of Grenada, a Dominican, author of approved ascetic works ("Sinners' Guide," "Memorial of a Christian Life," "Treatise on Prayer," &c.) His writings are still in high repute with the contemplative: there is no reading him without swimming in a sea of world-forgetting devotion. He died in 1588.

² "Ne filiae proprias spirituales (ut vocati consueverunt) expectare cogantur."
—*Inst.* iii. *pro Conf.* 1, 3, 6, 9, 12.

³ *Inst.* iii. § 7.

amiss,¹ and the same spy was to denounce any infringement of the confessor's rule, to the superior.² The confessionals were to be in exposed parts of the church, and so constructed that one confessor might be, in a manner, the *socius* of another; and the superior was to see that they were not removed from their places, and that the *grates* were *entire* and *narrow*. Neither early in the morning, nor late at night, nor in the afternoon, were the priests to go to the church, unless expressly called for. The confessors were not to contract too great a familiarity with poor women, under pretext of assistance: their alms-giving must be with the consent of the superior, and rather by the hand of others than their own. "For, although originating in charity, the thing may be, in the course of time, full of peril, or obnoxious to certain slanders."³ A Jesuit "of advanced age and ancient probity" infringed one of these rules by hearing a woman's confession without a visible witness; Ignatius got eight priests together and made the old Jesuit scourge himself, on his naked back, in the midst of them, until each of the priests had recited one of the penitential psalms.⁴

These enactments were issued at the commencement of the seventeenth century. It is significant how the primitive objection to the guidance of women has changed its motive. It is not now the difficulty of "resolving their questions, curing their scruples, hearing their complaints, and settling their quarrels"—but the terrible peril of soul, and reputation.

And yet what precautions are taken—what insurmountable difficulties are heaped round about the

¹ Ordin. Gen. p. 37.

² Instr. iii. 7; Inst. xv. 2.

³ Instr. xv. 4, 5, 6.

⁴ Bouhours, ii. 186.

licentious heart. By these severe enactments it seems that a Jesuit's purity is the centre of a circle whose circumference is cogged and clogged with a thousand obstacles, to prevent escape.

There must be good reason for the awful warnings that ascetics have, in all times, fulminated against the allurements, involuntary as well as voluntary, of women, whom to flee is the greatest triumph—*quas opimus effugere est triumphus*!

"Know that a beautiful woman," exclaims Socrates, "is a more dangerous enemy than the scorpion, because the latter cannot wound without touching us, whereas beauty strikes us at a distance: from whatsoever point we perceive it, it darts its poison upon us, and overthrows our reason."¹ St. Jordan rebuked a Friar very severely, for only touching a woman's hand. "True," answered the Friar, "but she is a pious woman." "No matter for *that*," answered St. Jordan, "the earth is good, water is also good—but when these two elements are mixed they form nothing but mud."²

"A woman burns the conscience of him with whom she dwells. Let women know thy name—but not thy face—nor do thou know theirs," says St. Jerome, the mortified in the wilderness.³

"Be it said, once for all:" cries St. Cyprian, "the conversation of women is the devil's bird-lime, to catch and enslave men."⁴

"Paul does not say, *resist*, but *fly*—because victory is better secured by flight than by resistance," exclaims St. Austin.⁵

¹ Xen. Mem. Soc. lib. i.

² Quoted in *Le Miroir des Chanoines*, a collection of sentences against female company—Paris, 1630.

³ D. Hieron. Ep. ad Nep., *ibid.*

⁴ D. Cypr. de Sing. Cler., *ibid.*

⁵ D. Aug. Ser. 250 de tem., *ibid.*

The mechanical contrivances of the Jesuits were therefore to the purpose.

But these, it seems, were not sufficient, if we may credit the ex-Jesuit Hasenmüller, who left his Order and turned Lutheran, in the *sixteenth* century: "I have seen some (Jesuits) who would not eat anything which they knew was dressed by a woman. I have heard others say, whenever I think of a woman, my stomach rises, and my blood is up. Another said, it grieves me, and I am ashamed that a woman brought me into the world, *dignus certè cui vacca fuisset genitrix* Others again assert that there is no good at all in the whole substance of a woman; and if there be some amongst them who pretend to excel the rest in these calumnies against the fair sex, these expectorate at the bare mention of a woman, and they keep some slanderous verses, injurious to the female sex, composed by Baptista of Mantua engraved on a plate, continually before their eyes, that they may thus perpetually stir up in themselves a hatred of women."¹

That these rather severe sentiments were in repute among the Jesuits, is probable for two reasons: First, Ignatius, in the Constitutions,² positively recommends his followers "to prevent temptations, by applying their contraries." Pride is to be overcome by lowly occupations conducive to humility—*et sic de aliis pravis animæ propensionibus*—and so of the *other* depraved

¹ Hasenm. Hist. Ord. Jesuit—published at Frankfort in 1593, and again in 1605, about the very time the foregoing enactments were issued, by the 6th and 7th Congregations. He also says: "For their meat and drink they use herbs and drugs, by which they enervate the strength of nature, and these man-haters," &c. &c. For some curious details on *aphrodisiacs*, and *anaphrodisiacs*, see Demangeon's *Génération de l'Homme*, p. 148, *et seq.*—also Virey, *Nouveaux Elémens de la Science de l'Homme*.

² Part iii. c. i.

propensities of the soul.¹ Thus, the studied contempt for woman would, to a vast extent, moderate the fires of concupiscence, for disgust is the cure of desire. Besides, the slighting, if not contemptuous, expressions of the rules before quoted, seem to evince a similar spirit : Secondly, Ignatius himself, in his famous "Spiritual Exercises," records the most abominable opinion that can positively be entertained of woman, for he positively compares the *devil* to woman, saying : "Our enemy imitates the nature and manner of woman, as to her weakness and frowardness ; for, as a woman, quarrelling with her husband, if she sees him with erect and firm aspect, ready to resist her, instantly loses courage, and turns on her heels : but if she perceive he is timid and inclined to slink off, her audacity knows no bounds, and she pounces upon him ferociously—thus the devil, &c."²

Such then were the Jesuit means "to prevent temptations." They were necessary in the awful circumstances. For we must consider who and what these Jesuits were, if we would form an adequate idea of their temptations. Then, by the Constitutions, as well as by history, they were vigorous, talented, handsome men. They were men of insinuating manners and honeyed speech, and they were unapproachable by profession, bachelors by necessity—two painful facts, and tending to excite the liveliest sympathies in those whom they were compelled to dragoon in the confessional, and abuse in the hours of recreation.

The vigilance of the rule on this point perpetually defended Jesuit reputation, and the comparatively very

¹ "Antevertere oportet tentationes adhibitis earum contrariis," &c.

² "Nam sicut femina cum viro rixans, si hunc conspexerit erecto et constante vultu sibi obsistere, &c. . . . itidem consuevit *daemon*."—*Exerc. Spir. Reg. in fine*, xii.

few cases of impeachment against it are such as may charitably and readily be forgotten. True it is that the power of the Society, in the days of her glory, could render impossible every criminal conviction, and could stifle fact with fact and fiction, as in the case of all its accusers, from the Roman priest who denounced Ignatius and his companions, down to De la Roche Arnaud and his "awful disclosures" of Mont Rouge.¹ But, by their exploits in every region of earth, the vast majority of Jesuits must have been men who could inspire love and passion, and yet stand aloof from the grovelling things of sensuality.² The Jesuits were too constantly engaged in bodily and mental work to be much molested by the common propensities of man, which idleness (the root of all evil) makes exuberant. Nature suggests an explanation. In the voracious animals the preponderance of the nutritious functions paralyses, as it were, the faculties of their external vitality, and thus, correspondently, in *man*, the excess of labour, whether intellectual, sensitive, or muscular, enervates and debilitates the internal functions of nutrition and reproduction. All is antagonism in man—the predominance of one energy perpetually and necessarily stifles its correlative.³ And

¹ *Mémoires d'un Jeune Jésuite où Conjuration de Mont-Rouge.*

² Hasenmüller says that the Jesuits of his time used to tell a most curious tale to illustrate the integrity of one of their Josephs. This Jesuit seemed to consent, only asking permission to leave the room for a moment. He returned with his face most disgustingly besmeared, and the lady's "love" was changed into hatred.—Hist. chap. vi. It is scarcely necessary to say, that Hasenmüller brings the foulest charges against the Jesuits on this score; but he was a rancorous enemy, and therefore we should only believe one-half of what he says, as was Lord Chesterfield's practice, who, on some one complaining as to the charge of having had *twins*, affirmed that he never believed more than one *half* of reports.

³ See this most interesting subject thoroughly investigated in Virey's admirable work, *Philosophie de l'Histoire Naturelle*, lib. ii. chap. vi. The motto of his

good for the cause of Jesuitism was that effect. It has been observed, by Cardinal De Retz, I think, that few ever did anything among men until women were no longer an object to them :¹ nor can we see why the renowned of old were called *heroes*, unless the name's derivative be *impetus*, strong and elastic impulse towards the pinnacled object of ambition.²

The consciences of nuns were a terror to Ignatius, not so the propensities of kings. Hercules d'Este was denied a Jesuit for his nuns, but was vouchsafed one for himself ; " having formed the design of a Christian life, he would have a Jesuit near his person." Lejay was pointed out, demanded, and conceded to govern the duke's conscience. His refusal of the bishopric of Trieste had made him famous,³ the counsels of his general will make him an excellent confessor. Having consulted Ignatius on the course of conduct he was to pursue, the general told him, " that being destined by the Vicar of Jesus Christ to the service of one of the most prominent benefactors of the Society, it was necessary that he should consecrate himself to him entirely, even so far as to perform, externally, no good deeds without the participation and consent of the prince, who was to be to him, in some sort, his Superior and General."⁴

book is *In nova fert animus*, and unquestionably there never was book so suggestive and consolatory by its interpretations of God's beautiful creation.

¹ " This is the reason," adds *Bulwer*, " why people seldom acquire any reputation, except for a hat or a horse, till they marry." Heloise, in one of her letters, dwells with great eloquence on the same subject : she instances the errors of Adam, Samson, Solomon, and *Abelard* as the consequence of this perverse infatuation.

² Hero, from the Greek *ἥρως*, *heros*, derived by Lennep from *ἄπειρ*, to be forcibly and violently impelled and joined to something else, but not to woman, as it would appear. ³ The result is significantly stated by Bouhours, ii. 57.

⁴ Id. ii. 58.

A Jesuit
undertakes
to guide a
princely
conscience.

The duke went through the "Spiritual Exercises" as a preliminary. This "method whereby chiefly the Society was begun and increased,"¹ was now extensively applied, even amongst persons of the highest rank. But there were thoughtful and good men who deemed the "Spiritual Exercises" objectionable ; among the rest, no smaller dignitary than the Archbishop of Toledo. Conforming to the times, doubtless, he taxed their *doctrine* as dangerous : this charge, in the land of the Inquisition, was most likely to set public opinion against the Jesuit method of propagation. It was of no avail. Doctors of Divinity gave them their sanction, and Borgia, the Duke of Gandia, the Society's friend, obtained a Bull from the pope whereby the "Spiritual Exercises" were approved, praised, and confirmed by Apostolical authority ; "having regard, as in duty bound, for the great good which Ignatius, and the Society by him founded, were incessantly doing in the church, amongst all sorts of nations ; and, moreover, considering how much the 'Spiritual Exercises' subserved to that purpose."²

Ignatius was permitted to have the book printed, but an injunction was laid against the reprinting of the same without the author's consent.³

This papal approbation, and the publication, rendered the "Spiritual Exercises" more famous than ever, and greatly increased the reputation of the Society's founder.⁴ The archbishop was silenced—the Jesuits triumphed—and we have an idea of Jesuit influence eight years after their foundation.

¹ "Verè dici possit, Societatem nostram hoc maxime medio et initio coaluisse, et postea incrementum accepisse."—*Proem. in Direct.* § 7.

² See the Bull *in extenso*: Bouhours, ii. 60, *et seq.*

³ Ibid.

⁴ Bouhours, ii. 62.

Glorious success, splendid events delayed not : the star of Ignatius was in the ascendant. Hitherto he had constantly resided at Rome. Thence he had directed, as we have seen, the councils of kings by his valuable advice ; thence he had reconciled a pope, a king, and a bishop ; it remains for him now to leave his habitation in order to arrest the bolts of war.

Father
Ignatius at
Tivoli.

The inhabitants of Sant-Angelo and those of Tivoli had a difference—arms clashed—Ignatius threw himself into the skirmish at the pope's request. He brought the belligerents to an arbitration (appointing a *cardinal* for the same), and the war was at an end—the citizens shook hands—*pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescunt*.

Ignatius was rewarded for his journey. He had lodged at the house of a rich man, the Signor Louis Mendozze by name, and this signor gave him a comfortable house, with pleasant gardens attached, and a chapel dedicated to the Virgin, near the magnificent ruins of the villa of Mécænas—a classical fact of which the Jesuit historian pleasantly reminds the student.¹ *Tibur, Argeo positum colono*,—classic Tivoli beheld Ignatius the spiritual father of the Jesuit Hardouin, who would *disprove* the authenticity of almost all the classics, which the critic fathered on middle-age monks !²

City of the Augustan age, graced by the residence of Mécænas, and his Horace (one of the spurious classics), of Brutus, Sallust, Propertius,—all Rome's genius and

¹ Bouhours, ii. 63.

² He will appear, this interesting Hardouin, in his niche, as we build up the temple of Jesuitism.

gentility ;¹ and now, after the lapse of wonder-working time, Father Ignatius, the general of the Jesuits, has a villa at Tibur ! Imagination, lend us thy wand ! Let Pope Paul III., the patron of Ignatius, be Augustus, who exclaimed on his death-bed, "Have I not played my part well ? Clap your hands then, the farce is over !"² And let Ignatius be the new edition of Mæcenas—a man of tact, prudence, and patron of all that is clever, *if* he can only do with them what he likes. Let Horace cease to be a vile sycophant for the nonce, and resolve to examine the matter—*lentus spectator, sedulus instet*. He prepares—*condo et compono*. And now imagine the flimsy shade of the biter paying Ignatius a visit, in one of his evening walks—*vesper-tinumque pererro forum*—and, after the first salutations—(*Quid tibi visa Chios*—How do you like Tivoli ?) coming nearer to the point, saying : *Assisto divinis*, I have seen your men at work. . . . Here's a trifle for you—*sic leve, sic parvum est* ; and thereupon reading his eighth satire to the broken-down knight of Loyola, now General of the Jesuits, beginning :

Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum—
Cum faber, incertus scammum faceretne Priapum,
Maluit esse deum³

¹ This city was famous in the age of Augustus. Its pleasant situation induced many of the rich and voluptuous Romans to build villas at Tibur and the vicinity. Augustus himself often visited Tibur ; and the poets, of course, swore by its name, thronging to the levees of their patron Mæcenas, his friend.

² "So true it is," observes the Jesuit Feller, "that the sages and heroes of the world do themselves look upon the picture of their actions as a farce that ends with them !"—*Biog. Univ.* i. 312.

³ I was a cut-down fig-tree, useless wood :

"For what," exclaims the joiner, "art thou good ?
For bed-steps ! or ——" then with a wink and nod,
"I have it—thou shalt be a scare-crow god."

Serm. lib. i. sat. viii. In superstitiosos et veneficos.

I find that the poet Oldham applies the same Horatian verses to Ignatius. I was not

This establishment at Tivoli was followed by two more colleges erected at Messina and Palermo, under the immediate patronage of the Viceroy of Sicily, Don Juan de Vega, an intimate friend of the General.¹

Ignatius selected some of his best men for this new help to development ; among the rest, Peter Canisius, a German, famous for his controversies with the Protestants, termed by the Catholics, "the scourge of the Protestants," and by the Protestants, "the dog of Austria."²

Establish-
ments in
Sicily.

Before dispatching his labourers, Ignatius passed them through the ordeal. Those who were to be engaged in tuition were made to give a specimen of the method they would pursue.

They had been selected with his usual caution : he had "sounded their souls ;" they were the elect of all the children of obedience. For, to test the obedience of his inferiors at Rome, he had commanded all of them to give him a written answer to the following questions : 1. Were they indifferent to going to Sicily or to remaining at Rome, and would the determination of their general, who held the place of God in their regard, be the most agreeable ? 2. If sent to Sicily, would they be ready to teach and perform other functions requiring intellect and knowledge, or to be employed in domestic offices ? 3. If appointed to study and tuition, would they be disposed to study whatever science that might be required, and to teach whatever class the superior might appoint ? In fine, did they believe that all which

aware of the fact when the application was suggested to me by the Jesuit's remark, and by *Tibur, Argeo positum colono*. The *percant malè qui ante nos* may be here applicable, but it is certainly not expressed.

¹ Bouhours, *ibid.* ii. p. 64.

² In allusion to his name, *Canis*, a dog. Feller, *Biog. Univ.* iv. 434.

obedience would prescribe to them, would be the best for them, and the most conducive to their salvation ?”¹

All of them delivered in their answer on the appointed day ; every man of them (there were more than six-and-thirty) declared that he would go, not only to Sicily, but to the Indies ; and that he would engage himself all his life to perform the meanest offices, as soon as their good father and venerable master in Jesus Christ would give them the least sign.²

Then Ignatius led the chosen ones to the pope, who received them very kindly, and dismissed them with an exhortation vigorously to oppose the new heresies.³

The general dispatched them to the work as follows :—

“ Go, brothers, inflame and burn up everything with the fire that Jesus Christ has come to fetch upon earth !”⁴

The reader must be told that there were *twelve* of these Sicilian apostles, and then he will comprehend the force of the obtestation, its meaning, its probable effect.

Almost at the same time Ignatius dispatched two other Jesuits to Fez and Morocco, at the request of the King of Portugal, for the redemption of slaves and their confirmation in the faith.

Other establishments, and reflections.

Charles V. dispatched an army into Africa against the famous corsair Dragut ; Laynez accompanied the expedition by command of Ignatius. Four Jesuits had gone into Ethiopia, sent by John III. of Portugal ; and South America received the Society with the Spanish fleet under Don Soza, penetrating Brazil. Asia had long before been occupied by the sons of Ignatius ; and every kingdom in Europe beheld them at work. But

¹ Bouhours, ii. 65.

² Id. ii. 66.

³ Id. ii. 65.

⁴ Id. ii. 64.

for every one that went forth, tens and twenties entered the Society, as the bees on a fine summer's day, to and from their busy hive, and many that entered were laden with wealth and honour, as the bees with honey.

All is fascination—inexplicable attraction, unless we remember how Law's Mississippi scheme, and the South-Sea Bubble, led away captive thousands and tens of thousands; or how Mohammed walked his appointed path, gathering followers as he went, until he had more than he could satisfy without war and plunder.

The rich, the great, the learned, all knocked at the gates of the Society, humbly craving admission. "The Society of Jesus" was the ark at the last hour when men ceased to doubt; all rushed to the gates of salvation; but this ark would never be closed: its voyage was to be long and difficult: it needed all sorts of "hands;" every trade, every profession, every disposition, every talent, would there find employment.

If we look around in life and mark the beginning of every enterprise, how powerful appears the imitative propensity of man! A few great names lend the spell, rumour spreads the magic circle; those who are affected or infected become as many points of attraction, and the scheme is established. The Jesuit scheme triumphed in like manner. The Society was in fashion.

In 1552, Don Antonio de Cordova, the rector of the University of Salamanca, was about to be invested with the Roman purple, when suddenly a thought of self-abnegation entered his soul. He was but three-and-twenty years of age; but his talents exalted him enough in the eyes of Rome to place him amongst the princes of the church. Young, rich, a favourite of Charles V., he turned a deaf ear to those who would

Glorious
accessions.

speak of the honours which he had deserved ; he renounced the dignity, and, on the following day, Don Antonio de Cordova, the cardinal elect, was a simple novice of the Society of Jesus !¹ How vast must have been the exultation at the Jesuit college in Salamanca ; behold the golden fruit of the spreading tree : “ the Society erected houses and gained many proselytes.”²

A more touching illustration of that strange fascination which distinguished Jesuitism had been given in the case of an old Dutchman, Cornelius Crocus, rector of the Latin Schools at Amsterdam ; he resigned his appointment, and, in his fiftieth year, journeyed to Rome on foot, begged admission to the Society, and was received by Ignatius.³

And Francis Borgia, the Duke of Gandia, the great friend of the Jesuits, “ the handsome, generous, wise and brave,” as he was called, turned Jesuit ! Grief at the loss of his wife, we are assured, was the beginning of his conversion : “ in order to assuage his anguish, he rushed into religion.” Other causes had conspired to prepare the way. He had formerly been sent to convey to Grenada the body of the Empress Isabella. When the coffin was opened for his attestation, the awful change which death had produced in that “ prodigy of beauty ” made a lasting impression on his mind ; and it is said he lived as a saint in the midst of the world.⁴

¹ Cretineau, i. 292.

² “ Elle formait bien des maisons, elle gagnait bien des prosélytes.”—*Ibid.*

³ As an illustration of the times, it may be stated that Crocus undertook to banish from the schools the grammatical works composed by the Reformers. To Melanethon's Grammar, Erasmus's Adages and Colloquies, he opposed a Grammar, Adages, and Colloquies, after his own fashion. Feller, Biog. Univ. *Crocus*.

⁴ See *La Vie de St. Fran. Borgia*, by the Jesuit Verjus, 2 vols. It is alleged that the example of Borgia induced Charles V. subsequently to turn monk. How *did* he escape the Society ! Imagine Charles V. a Jesuit. But he was half a heretic.

Allied to the most illustrious families of Europe, (a *natural* grandson of Pope Alexander VI., and of Ferdinand V., precisely in the same way, by his mother,) Borgia sought the companionship of the voluntary beggars, whose minds were swaying the destinies of earth. We shall find him the third general of the Jesuits, and a saint.

It becomes us to penetrate into the method of this world-absorbing fascination: it is of importance to understand thoroughly the Jesuit method, if we would form right judgments on their deeds—their history. The Jesuits themselves minutely display their method of witchery: the Life of their model, Ignatius, was not written in vain. What, then, was *his* method? A few cases, given by the Jesuits, will answer to a certain extent.

One of his followers, Rodriguez, conceived the design of turning hermit. He fled from his companions, resolved to perform his resolution. A man so Curious method. skilled in the “discernment of spirits” as Ignatius proves himself to be in his “Spiritual Exercises,” could not fail to perceive the soul-workings of this would-be hermit; but he was not to be resigned. Scarcely had Rodriguez left the city, when “a man of terrible aspect, superhuman stature, appeared before him, sword in hand. Terror seized him at first; but, regaining courage, thinking his eyes had deceived him, he continued to advance,—when the portent, transported with fury, cast terrible glances at him, threatened him with his sword, and seemed ready to pierce him. Bewildered and trembling, he turned on his heels, fled back to the city, and met Ignatius, who, with arms outstretched, and smiling sweetly, exclaimed, ‘*Man of little*

faith, why hast thou doubted? ' These words shamed Rodriguez : but they confirmed him in his vocation, and made him perceive at the same time that God had revealed all to Ignatius."¹

What commentary can add to the significance of this ensample ?

Ignatius once visited a doctor of divinity. He found him playing at billiards. The doctor invited Ignatius to play a game. The latter excused himself, affirming that he could not play at billiards—as if he had not learned this accomplishment among the many which graced the page at the court of Ferdinand. The doctor *urged* him, we are told : this was unnecessary, if the doctor really believed Ignatius.

"What shall we play for?" said Ignatius to the doctor. "A poor fellow like myself can't play for money, and yet there's no fun in playing for nothing. Here's my notion : if I lose, I will serve you a whole month, and will do exactly all that you shall command me : and if you lose, you will only do one thing that I will tell you."

The doctor, liking the fun, accepted the condition. They played : Ignatius won the game ! He had never touched a cue, adds the Jesuit-biographer.

And the doctor, recognising the miracle, resolved to obey Ignatius. The Spiritual Exercises were enjoined ; and the doctor "profited so well by them, that he became an '*interior man*.'" What more he became, is not stated.² This reminds us of "the devil playing a game at chess with a youth for his soul."

We have read of those who crossed the seas to gain a proselyte ; Ignatius plunged into a pond for the same

¹ Bouhours, i. 242.

² Id. i. 184.

end. He had tried in vain to convert a libertine : he resolved upon a stratagem. Knowing the road the libertine would take in his disreputable visits, Ignatius went and waited for his approach, near a pond almost frozen over, for it was winter. He undressed. As soon as he saw his friend in the distance, he jumped in, up to the neck, and cried out, "Whither are you going, wretched man? Whither are you going? Hear you not the thunder rolling over your head? See you not the sword of divine justice ready to strike you? Ah well!" he continued, with a terrible voice, "Go and glut your brutal passion. I'll suffer here for you, until the wrath of Heaven be appeased."

Terrified by these words, and ravished with Ignatius's charity, the man "opened his eyes, was ashamed of his sin, returned with the resolution of entire self-reformation,¹ and probably became a Jesuit—a St. Augustine, from grovelling vice to soaring sanctity.

We remember how he practised on Lefevre and Xavier, and with what striking results.

Enough surely has been detailed to throw some light on the influence of the Jesuits, operating with the founder's example before them, trained under his own eyes, and sent forth perfect in all arts, human and divine. Let their end be all that a Christian may desire, or the contrary : be their motives good or bad : be they hirelings of evil, or angels of good—whatever they were, to all intents and purposes the Jesuits went the "right way to work," whatever they did.

"Permit me," exclaims Cardinal De Retz (just after describing one of his youthful duels)—"Permit me, I beg you, to make a short reflection on the nature of

¹ Bouhours, i. 182.

the human mind. I do not believe that there was in the world a better heart than my father's, and I can say that his disposition was that of virtue. Nevertheless, these duels and these my gallantries did not hinder him from making every effort

Cardinal
De Retz's
elucidation.

to bind to the church a soul perhaps the least ecclesiastical in the universe! "His preference for his eldest son, and the prospect of the Archbishopric of Paris, (which was his family-right) produced that effect." *He* did not believe it, and was not himself conscious of it—I would even swear that he himself would have sworn in his inmost heart, that his object in this step was nothing but what was revealed to him by his apprehension of the perils to which the contrary profession would expose *my soul*. So true it is, that *there is nothing so liable to illusion as piety*. It consecrates all sorts of fancies; and *the best intention is not sufficient to enable us to avoid its abuse.*"¹

It were charitable to apply this reasoning to the conduct of Ignatius, and consequently, to that of his followers.

There were men—men of standing—men of virtue (as the Jesuits are forced to admit)—churchmen, high and dignified, who thought otherwise,—who denounced the Primitive Jesuits as men exactly after De Retz's *own* heart, which he describes as follows.

"After six days' reflection," says the Cardinal, (then Archbishop of Paris), "I took the resolution to do evil on set purpose (*par dessein*) which is incomparably the most criminal before God, but which is, without doubt, the wisest before the world: both because in doing evil thus, we set before it certain acts which cover a part of

¹ *Mémoires*, i. 3.

it,—and because by this set purpose we avoid the most dangerous ridicule incident to our profession, which is, *to mingle preposterously sin with devotion.*"¹

Melchior Cano, a Dominican monk, and Doctor of Salamanca (where the Jesuits were in full swing) de-

nounced the Jesuits in spite of their conversions. No heretic was Melchior—no renegade ;—but a true believer.

Melchior
Cano and
the Jesuits.

Nor was he a man who repeated "idle tales in circulation." He had met, and conversed with, Ignatius.

"When I was at Rome," says he, "I took it into my head to see this Ignatius. He began at once, without preliminary, to talk of his virtue, and the persecution which he had experienced in Spain without deserving it in the least. And a vast deal of mighty things he poured forth concerning the revelations which he had from on high, though there was no need of the disclosure. This induced me to look upon him as a vain man, and not to have the least faith in his revelations."²

The doings of the Jesuits terrified this good Christian : he apprehended the coming of Antichrist, and believed the Jesuits to be his forerunners.³

He was alarmed at the novelty of the Institute, which was totally different to the ancient Orders : he believed that the secular dress of the Jesuits was adapted to conceal their licentiousness : that from their intercourse

¹ Mémoires, i. 41.

² "Cum aliquando Romæ essem, Innicum istum videre mihi lubuit : qui in sermone, sine ullâ occasione, cœpit suam commemorare justitiam, et persecutionem quam passus esset in Hispaniâ nullo suo merito. Multa etiam et magna prædicabat de revelationibus quas divinitus habuisset, idque nullâ ejus rei necessitate ; quæ fuit occasio cur eum pro homine vano haberem, nec de revelationibus suis quicquam ei crederem."—*Apud Boyle*, vii. 186. He also hits the Jesuits for the aspiring title of the Company. De locis l. iv. c. 2.

³ Bouhours, iv. 71.

with people of the world, and at the courts of princes, they lived according to the world's maxims: that those "retreats" which they caused to be made after the method and spirit of their founder, were nothing less than abominable mysteries.¹

Such was the Dominican's opinion of the Jesuit. His reputation was great: he was a man of virtue: he seemed to speak from conviction.² He published all he thought: his reputation gave so much credit to his words, that the people treated as impostors and rogues those who before appeared to them as men descended from Heaven.³

Ignatius thanked God for the "persecution," and took his measures accordingly.

He ordered the Spanish Jesuits to show Cano the pope's bull confirmatory of the Institute, and to explain to him modestly the following very conclusive facts against him: 1. The kingdom of Heaven would be divided if the Vicar of Jesus Christ approved a Society opposed to Jesus Christ: 2. That of those pretended forerunners of Antichrist, Paul III. had chosen two for his Theologians at the Council of Trent, and that his Holiness had named another for his Apostolic Legate in the Indies.

Ignatius also sent documents attesting in favour of the Society, and a papal brief constituting the Bishop of Salamanca protector of the Society's reputation.⁴

He did more: the general of the Dominicans was induced to interfere: doubtless representations were made to the general respecting his dangerous subject. The general issued a charge to all the Dominicans commanding them "to love that holy Order (of Jesus),

¹ Bouhours, iv. 71.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

and forbidding them to speak ill of it under any pretext whatever."¹

"We believe, it is true, that all of you," wrote the good general, "that all of you, as friends and well-beloved of the Bridegroom, far from murmuring against the variety with which the Bride is adorned, will embrace her and cherish her in the charity which rejoiceth in truth."²

A doctor of Salamanca threw in an apologetic manifesto for the Society.

Glory to the Jesuits issued from the sea of trouble. But the redoubtable Melchior still winnowed the waves. He continued his invectives in defiance of papal bulls, documents, arguments, and the bridal soft impeachment of his general.

Melchior's "hostilities held in check the Society of Jesus at Salamanca. His success was likely to stir up new aggressors in the other Spanish universities."³

What was to be done with this bad subject—this accuser, who was either in the right or in the wrong—who either spoke the truth or falsely? Let the result answer the question.

The Jesuits made a *bishop* of Melchior but they sent him to the *Canaries*. It was an idea worthy of Ignatius and his method with Xavier.

"If this was a revenge of the Society," says its latest historian and admirer, "it could not be more sweet, nor, above all, more *ingenious*," he very significantly adds.⁴

¹ Bouhours, iv. 72.

² Cretineau, i. 288, where the letter is given *in extenso*.

³ Id. 289.

⁴ "Si ce fut une vengeance de la Compagnie, elle ne pouvait être plus douce, plus ingénieuse surtout. Melchior accepta ces honneurs, mais jamais il ne s'en montra reconnaissant."—Cretineau, i. 289.

Melchior accepted the honour, but he did not evince his gratitude in the manner contemplated. From afar, as when near, he attacked the Jesuits.

He probably "smelt a rat." At the Canaries he could not grasp the foe. He resigned his See, returned to Spain, and renewed the war.

To the day of his death his conviction was unchanged. In 1560 he wrote to a monk, the confessor of Charles V., saying: "Would to God that it should not happen to me, as fable relates of Cassandra, whose predictions were not believed till after the capture and burning of Troy. If the members of the Society continue as they have begun, God grant that the time may not come when kings will wish to resist them, and will find no means of doing so."¹

The most extraordinary point in this affair is that the pope should consent to make a bishop of a man who would not be silenced by a bull; and that the Society should positively exalt disobedience! These considerations have great weight: Melchior was strong in some position, was determined in all his attitudes; and conciliation is always the method of Party till it can silence by pains and penalties.

Cano lived in honour, and died respected, in 1560, as Provincial of Castile—another fact in his favour.² He was the first important opponent of the Jesuits, and the first bishop they gave to the Church: the occasion is remarkable.

¹ Cretineau, i. 290.

² Feller, Biog. Univ. This Jesuit says that Cano never took possession of his See; meaning, probably, that he did not *remain* in possession. He also slurs the character of Cano, but refers to a single trait, and that related by another Jesuit (Bouhours), to the effect that Cano set a priest to accuse Ignatius of heresy in the doctrines of the "Spiritual Exercises," keeping himself in the back ground, through fear of Rome. This is scarcely in unison with his usual boldness.

Another opponent appeared in the person of the rector of the University of Alcala, where the Jesuits were progressing. A tribunal was appointed to examine the affairs of the Jesuits—they were honourably acquitted, though the tribunal was appointed by Casa the belligerent rector, and composed of “three most determined adversaries of the Institute!” Casa rejected the decision : he even attacked the bull of Paul III., establishing the Society,—which was going to the fountain-head at once and effectually, and also into the jaws of the tiger. To the Inquisition at Rome he was cited : but Villanova the Jesuit official at Alcala, who was in the secret, gave Casa the hint in time, and Casa “thought himself fortunate in redeeming, by holding his tongue, the pains and penalties which he had incurred.”¹ There was no necessity for making him a bishop.

An archbishop then took the field against the troop of Loyola. At Toledo the Jesuits availed themselves of their privileges : these were deemed encroachments on archiepiscopal authority : Don Siliceo, the archbishop, fell upon the papal squadron, mandate in hand. This manifesto set forth bitter complaints against the usurpations of the Society on episcopal jurisdiction, and forbade all his spiritual subjects to confess to the Jesuits,—empowered all curates to exclude them from the administration of the Sacraments,—and laid an injunction on the college of Alcala.²

The Jesuits bestirred themselves : their friends lent them a hand. The pope’s nuncio at Madrid interceded in vain ; the Archbishop of Burgos (who was then planting the Jesuits in his city) offered himself as

¹ Cretineau, i. 291.

² Id. i. 292.

surety for his friends ; the pope addressed a letter to the exclusive dignitary. Don Siliceo was as flint to their prayers and entreaties.

Ignatius determined to bring down the archbishop with a stone, as soft words had failed. He applied to the royal council of Spain. Bulls and privileges were produced ; the archbishop was condemned, the injunction taken off, and the Jesuits pursued "the even tenor of their way" exulting.

Then Ignatius came forward with the cream of consolation in a spoon of silver : "he thanked the archbishop in the most humble terms of gratitude and submission, to such an extent, that in order to gain him over entirely, he promised him that the fathers of Alcala should not use their privileges, and would not even receive any person into their society without his grace's consent."¹

Thus did this admirable diplomatist fulfil his own prophecy ; for, at the first intelligence of the affair, he observed to Ribadeneyra : "This new tempest is of good omen ; and it is, if I am not mistaken, an evident sign that God wishes to make use of us in Toledo. For, after all, experience teaches us that contradictions prepare the way in every direction for the Society, and that the more she is thwarted in a place, the more fruit she there produces."² Thus Ignatius cheered his followers.

In my youth I heard of a house-breaker who, upon effecting an entrance, would place a small pebble under the door, saying to his men : "'Tis *charmed*, and as long as that is there, the folks will *sleep*—but set to work *softly and quietly*." He too was a Spaniard.

¹ Cresteianu, i. 292 ; Bouhours, p. 115.

² Bouhours, p. 114.

Meanwhile the Duke of Gandia (his probation ended, his training complete) is become Father Francis, Jesuit. A contemplative life was his choice ; but action, agitation, was the “ order of holy obedience.” Ignatius sent him forth ; Spain should behold the duke Jesuit.

Borgia as a Jesuit.

“ Father Francis sets out, visits the great, all the branches of his family ; he teaches the people ; he stops at the court of Charles V., converts sinners, edifies the faithful, lays in every town the foundations of a college or a house of the Society.”¹ His success induced Ignatius to appoint him the head of all the missions and houses in Spain and Portugal.

Already was Spain divided into three provinces,—Arragon, Castile, and Andalusia.

In the space of two years Father Francis gave to these provinces such expansion, that the houses and colleges seemed to rise as by miracle, in every city. At Grenada, at Valladolid, Medina, San-Lucar, Burgos, Valencia, everywhere—cardinals, bishops, magistrates, and the most distinguished of the Dominicans, united to second the efforts of the Society.²

“ Father Francis has but to desire, and his wish is accomplished even before it is made known. He stamps on the Spanish ground, and houses rise up for the Society. His voice calls workmen to the vineyard of the Lord, and workmen run from all sides.”³

From east to west, from south to north of the Peninsula, the Jesuits roughed and smoothed their way to the fruitful plains of Saragossa. To these “ plains of Moab” they come rejoicing, as if it had been said unto them : “ And ye shall dispossess the inhabitants

The Jesuits at Saragossa.

¹ Cretineau, i. 302.

² Id. i. 303.

³ Ibid.

of the land and dwell therein ; for I have given you the land to possess it."

"Privilege," old, prescriptive, exclusive, bigoted rights of privilege met them at the gates of Saragossa—they must not enter.

Bishops and monks were always their Sihon of Heshbon and their Og of Bashan ; but these "remnants of giants," with their nine-cubit-bedsteads-of-iron-privileges were as "untempered mortar" to the Jesuits ; "a stormy wind shall rend it," or "the foxes in the deserts."

A difficulty arose ; the Jesuits could not find a house. Some explanation is here necessary. According to the customs of the old church there was a law which prohibited the construction of a chapel or a convent too near parishes and convents—a charitable law for the satisfaction of the jade "Privilege," who ought to have no "meddling neighbours."

Now Strada, the Jesuit leader, was a man of whelming eloquence, which "opened to the Jesuits a great many habitations," says the historian : ¹ but the number of convents and churches was so great at Saragossa, that all these habitations were obnoxious to the afore-said law ; and the monks and clergy of the town stuck to their privileges.

At last, in 1555, the Jesuits managed to pounce on a spot, just without the limits prescribed by privilege. At once they began to "do the rest," as the good Father Boulanger expressed the method.

It was Easter Monday—a grand holiday in the good old time—the day before the inauguration of the Jesuit chapel—the day appointed by Ferdinand, the

¹ Cretineau, i. 304.

Archbishop of Arragon, himself: all the grand and imposing ceremonies were arranged; the "effect" was a certainty, the "cause" would be triumphant. Strada was ready with his sermon; and so was Lopez Marcos, the Vicar-general of Saragossa, with his detestable *injunction*!

This man of privilege positively commanded Father Brama, the appointed superior of the House, to put off the ceremony. The Augustinian monks would not have the Jesuits near them. Their convent was in the vicinity, and they pretended that the chapel was built on land debateable.

Father Brama begged to be excused. He could not comply with an injunction so frivolous. But Brama was wise: he consulted the lawyers—the canonists (the scribes of the new law), and they said, "It is corban:" the Jesuits were "free:" they might push forward:¹ and they determined to proceed.

The superior of the Franciscans threatened them with excommunication. Brama waved his hand, appealed to the pope, and began the ceremony.

Lopez, at the mass, published a decree, forbidding the faithful, under penalty of excommunication, to frequent the Jesuit chapel. Anathema and malediction were hurled against the Fathers.

Then was the jade Privilege in her glory. The clergy and the Augustinians paraded the town, chaunting the hundred and ninth psalm, the mob repeating the verses of reprobation,—they roared forth:—

"As he loved cursing, so let it come unto him: as he delighted not in blessing, so let it be far from him.

"As he clothed himself with cursing like as with his

¹ "Ils déclarent que l'on peut passer outre."

garment, so let it come into his bowels like water, and like oil into his bones.

"Let it be unto him as the garment which covereth him, and for a girdle wherewith he is girded continually."

Privilege was not satisfied : she *is* insatiate.

The whole population had been attracted to witness the inauguration : the vicar-general pronounced the whole town profaned and infected with heresy by the mere presence of the Jesuits within its walls. In other words, Saragossa was excommunicated—an awful matter in those times—and in priest-ridden, monk-ridden Spain.

The Augustinians sent round the streets horrid pictures, in which the Jesuits were represented as being pushed into hell by legions of devils, varied in hideousness, up to the climax of horror.

At the thought of the excommunication, rage took possession of every soul. Of course the Jesuits were the cause—so said Privilege. The mob rushed to their House, smashed the windows with stones : then went forth a funereal procession, with songs of death, and a crucifix muffled in a black veil, round and round the proscribed habitation, for the space of three days—"Mercy ! Mercy !" resounding from time to time, as if to do violence to heaven, shut up by Privilege-Lopez !

A regular siege ensued : a blockade of fifteen days—during which the monks exhausted their stage tricks and clap-traps of horror.

Brama was a Jesuit. If he cannot rule the storm, he can pipe all hands to quarters, 'bout ship, and put back into port—some harbour of refuge. He retired with his crew under the lee of his patrons, the Archbishop of Arragon, the pope's nuncio, and the Queen Jane, the

mother of Charles V. Terrible names these for Privilege! Her quarrel was examined: she was condemned: censures, interdict, excommunication, all went as chaff before the wind, and the philosophical mob gracefully changed sides, believed the Jesuits no longer devils, but saints; recalled them; and the Jesuits re-entered Saragossa triumphant. Magistrates, clergy, nobility, Privilege-Lopez himself, ran to meet and escort them to their House. There they found the viceroy in attendance. The viceroy presented them the keys; and from that day forward the Jesuits applied to their "Spiritual Exercises," and other works appointed, unstayed, unmolested by Privilege, which will never cope with the Jesuits.

It is evident that Borgia's influence was powerful enough to effectuate this splendid reaction at Saragossa. In effect, we are assured that the opposition to the Society in Spain was stifled by the great name of the Duke in the person of Father Francis.¹ Two essential conditions have always been the necessary props of the Jesuit-lever—a great patron and an impressionable people. They enjoyed both of these in Spain, and broke down all opposition.

The case was different in France. Opposed from the first, the Society was never secure in France—if the multitudinous operations of the Society were calculated to ensure her security anywhere. Privilege again was the mainspring of the opposition: the monopoly of public instruction was the cause: ostensible motives were soon alleged: events superadded a *veil*, at least, of justice to the determined proscription of the Jesuits by the French University, and, afterwards, by the French Parliament.

The Jesuits
in France.

¹ Cretineau, i. 306.

Some success had, however, attended the first colony of the Jesuits in France. The Bishop of Clermont continued his patronage ; and, from the establishment which he founded, Ignatius was able to draft the materials of a new college in Sicily, as early as 1549.

There even seemed to be encouragement in other quarters : the University gave a Jesuit an appointment in the College of the Lombards ; the nomination was confirmed at Court. ¹

Most men, if really desirous of doing good for its own sake (as far as human nature is capable of this purity of intention) would have hailed this favour, this honour, as a boon of the present, and a promise of future utility in a noble cause. It seems that Ignatius was too cunning to give others the credit of pure intentions. He forbade the appointment, commanded Viole to throw up the engagement, and ordered his scholars at the University to resign all the pensions they enjoyed. The thing was done. And now for his motive. He was convinced that the object of the University was "the hope of enticing to herself the Brothers of the Society, and thus render impossible its establishment in the capital !"²

Without appealing to the prominent feature ascribed to Charity by the apostle, we may remark that the men least given to suspect others, the most confiding men are, doubtless, those who cultivate their intellect : so true it is that moral strength is in proportion to the greatest development of the intellectual faculties. The insane are suspicious, mistrustful ; the like may be said of savages in general. ³

¹ Crotineau, i. 307.

² Ibid.

³ The remark is Esquirol's. "Des Maladies Mentales," t. i. p. 15. Every psychologist should study this admirable book of facts.

The one idea of Ignatius, hedged in by an unexpanded intellect, was incapable of self-abstraction : it was a magnet without variation. Cromwell and Napoleon were men of the same stamp : the perpetual terrors of Cromwell, the restless, suspicious temper of Napoleon (witness his uniform conduct to the admirable Berthier), point to the identical cause—and in the three, conscience was not, doubtless, cradled on a halcyon wave.

This contemptuous rejection of a friendly hand could only madden that hostility which seemed willing to slumber. But Ignatius had his idea ; it promised independence, perhaps superiority ; he might, therefore, safely reject copartnership.

Previously to this event, Charles de Guise, the celebrated Cardinal de Lorraine,¹ was at Rome. Ignatius obtained an interview, explained to the cardinal (minister of Francis II., of *Charles IX.*, and one of the prime movers of the religious wars in France) the object of his Institute, to which the University so much objected. The cardinal engaged to protect the Jesuits in his country.²

The same cardinal subsequently proposed to establish the Inquisition in France, alleging that it had constantly preserved Portugal, Spain, and Italy from civil wars into which heresy had plunged the rest of Europe. Implacable war with “the revolted fanatics” was his motto : he believed that all peace, every truce with them were useless and dangerous ; he was the terrible exponent of religious unity—its determined champion.³ To say the

¹ Talk of pluralities ! This worthy was archbishop of Rheims, of Narbonne ; bishop of Metz, of Toul, of Verdun, of Têrouane, Luçon, and Valence ; abbot of St. Denis, of Fecamp, of Cluny, of Marmoutier, &c.// for thus stops short Feller. —*Biog. Univ.* tom. v. p. 247.

² Cretineau, i. 308.

³ See Feller, *Biog. Univ.* tom. v. p. 247, *et seq.* Chénier, in his tragedy “*Charles IX.*,” supposes the cardinal to have participated in the massacre of St. Bartholomew’s day. This is denied by Feller, alleging the cardinal’s absence

least, Ignatius, in his intercourse with the cardinal, could not have weakened his predilections.

With such a friend, and such a mind in his cause, Ignatius had certainly good reason for rejecting a pull at the oar when he might probably sit at the helm.

Henry II. was then on the throne of France. The cardinal faithfully kept his promise to Ignatius. Immediately on his return, he enumerated to the king all the advantages which the new Order promised to Religion and the State. Henry II. was anxious to find a remedy against the troubles which Protestantism was "sowing in the kingdom," as it is expressed. The king was aware of the successful opposition of the Jesuits (as it seemed) to the Reformation in Germany. "The princes, his rivals and his neighbours, laid hold of the Jesuits, either as a buckler against the innovators, or as a lever for the education of youth : *he* did not consent to remain in the rear of the movement which he saw advancing."¹ Such are the motives advanced in all simplicity. It is astonishing how the Jesuits themselves unwarily admit the real motives that everywhere planted them in power. Reasoning mortals that we are, can they complain if we seek in *history* and not in the *Gospel* for the secret of their wonderful success—so sudden—and—so fleeting?

In the month of January, 1550, Henry II. expedited letters patent, whereby "accepting and approving the Bulls obtained by the Society of Jesus, he permitted the

from France, being then at Rome. This is certainly no *proof* in his favour, for his concurrence would be enough to justify the poet's impersonation. The same Jesuit flings in an approval of the cardinal's principles, thus : "His maxim was that of Plato, and the most famous philosophers, ancient and modern, that there should be in a state but one religion, and that this religion should be *true*," &c. There's the rub, unfortunately, which neither Plato nor the philosophers, ancient and modern, can level—nor the *Inquisition* either, God be blessed !

¹ Cretineau, i. 308.

said Brothers to construct, raise, and cause to build, out of goods which should be given them, a House and a College in the city of Paris only, and not in the other towns, for to live therein according to their rules and statutes ; and commanded his Courts of Parliament to verify the said letters, and permit the said Brothers to enjoy their said privileges.”¹

The power of the French Parliament at that period was somewhat similar to the British. The royal will was a suggestion, not an imperative mandate. Louis XIV. had yet to reign.

The Parliament objected to the registration of the “said letters patent.” The alleged motive was, “that the new Institute was prejudicial to the monarchy, the state, and the order of the Hierarchy,”² an opinion decidedly suggested by the Constitutions of the Society, if judged without remembering the fact that the Jesuits invariably supported their supporters, that is, whilst they deemed them such.

A contest ensued, of course. The Jesuits had friends at court ; the Parliament was backed by the clergy, with some exceptions, but, as may be expected, by the University *en masse*, every man of the learned walls.

The Cardinal de Lorraine, William Du Prat, and many of the bishops sided with the Jesuits.

The king ordered his privy council to examine the Bulls and Constitutions. The council declared that in all the documents submitted to them, nothing was contrary to the maintenance of order, ecclesiastical and civil ; which was, again, an opinion that might be drawn from the Constitutions.

The king being, from the first, a party in favour of

¹ Cretineau, quoting the document, i. 315.

² *Ibid.*

the Jesuits, naturally could count on this declaration ; and, on receiving it, proceeded accordingly. He commanded the Parliament to register the letters patent.

Sixteen days afterwards, Seguier, the President of the Parliament (a man of uncommon intelligence, as a Jesuit¹ admits) gave in a declaration in which "he persists, according to his aforesaid conclusions, that remonstrances be made to the king."²

Two years of indecision elapsed. The Bulls and Constitutions could not decide the contest. Intrigue on both sides was set in agitation. The Jesuits met their opponents with their own weapons, which was a pity, considering their motto: "For the greater glory of God."³

The Jesuits agitated and excited their partisans to agitate in their behalf.

This admitted fact must have injured their cause in the minds of the dispassionate.

The Parliament appealed to the Archbishop of Paris. Eustache du Bellay⁴ pronounced against the Jesuits. His dissentient declaration, under eleven heads, thus curiously concludes :—

"Finally, the court will consider that all novelties are dangerous, and that therefrom ensue many inconveniences unforeseen and unpremeditated.

"And because the fact which is pretended of the

¹ Feller. Biog. Univ. t. xviii. p. 310.

² Cretineau, i. 315.

³ "On mettait en jeu la ruse ; ils firent jouer les mêmes ressorts. On agissait contre eux par tous les moyens ; ils agirent, ils excitèrent à agir en leur faveur." — Cretineau, i. 316.

⁴ Cretineau debits the usual Jesuit disparagement of their opponents on the character of Du Bellay. His relative, Cardinal Du Bellay, had been persecuted by the *Guises* (now the friends of the Jesuits) ; consequently it is pretended that Eustache "inherited resentment with his mitre," making the Jesuits the *scape-goat* ; and moreover, that the bishop "was fond of a row"—*aimait la lutte* ! It is little to the purpose : all the heroes of this conflict may be much on a par : the sad moral is, nevertheless, strikingly evolved.

establishment of the said Order and Society (that they shall go and preach to the Turks and Infidels and bring them to the knowledge of God) would require (under favour) the establishment of the said Houses and Societies in the places near the said Infidels, as in times of old has been done by the Knights of Rhodes who were placed on the frontiers of Christendom, not in the midst thereof ; moreover, there would be much time lost and consumed in going from Paris as far as Constantinople, and other parts of Turkey.”¹

The Faculty of Theology in the University crowned the archbishop's “eleven heads” with a wreath of scorpions. On the first of December, 1554, they drew up a famous “Conclusion,” which they respectfully presented to his Holiness.

This document is highly interesting for many reasons. It is the opinion of Orthodox Catholics—Doctors of Divinity. It was submitted to the pope himself. Lastly, it dwells heavily upon charges brought against the Jesuits only fourteen short years after their foundation. Here it is :—

“As all the Faithful, and principally the Theologians, ought to be ready to render an account to those who demand the same, respecting matters of faith, morals, and the edification of the Church, the Faculty has thought that it ought to satisfy the desire, the demand, and the intention of the Court.

¹ “Pour la fin pesera la Cour que toutes nouveautés sont dangereuses et que d'icelles proviennent plusieurs inconvéniens non prévus ne prémédités.

“Et parce que le fait que l'on prétend de l'érection dudit Ordre et Compagnie, et qu'ils iroient prêcher les Turcs et Infidèles, et les amener à la connoissance de Dieu, faudroit, sous correction, établir lesdites Maisons et Sociétés es lieux prochains desdits Infidèles,—ainsi qu'anciennement a été fait des Chevaliers de Rhodes, qui ont été mis sur les frontières de la Chrétienté, non au milieu d'icelle : aussi y auroit-il beaucoup de tems perdu et consommé d'aller de Paris jusqu' à Constantinople, et autres lieux de Turquie.”—*Orcl.* i. 318. *Coud.* i. 40.

“Wherefore, having perused, and many times reperused, and well comprehended all the articles of the two Bulls, and after having discussed and gone to the depths¹ of them during several months, at different times and hours, according to custom, due regard being had to the subject, THE FACULTY has, with unanimous consent, given this judgment, which it has submitted with all manner of respect to that of the Holy See.

“This new Society, which arrogates to itself in particular the unusual title of the name of Jesus,—which receives with so much freedom, and without any choice, all sorts of persons, however criminal, lawless, and infamous they may be ; which differs in no wise from the Secular Priests in outward dress, in the tonsure,² in the manner of saying the Canonical Hours in private, or in chaunting them in public, in the engagement to remain in the cloister and observe silence, in the choice of food and days, in fastings, and the variety of the rules, laws and ceremonies, which serve to distinguish the different Institutes of Monks ; this Society, to which have been granted and given so many privileges and licences, chiefly in what concerns the administration of the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, and this without any regard or distinction being had of places or persons : as also in the function of preaching, reading, and teaching, to the prejudice of the Ordinaries and the Hierarchical Order, as well as of the other religious Orders, and even to the prejudice of princes and lords

¹ Cretineau, in his translation, uses that bottomless French word, “*approfondis*,” which I have taken the liberty to paraphrase as above.

² The “*tonsure*” is a circular shaving of the crown of the head, usual with priests and monks on the Continent : the “*Canonical Hours*” have been already explained ; its representative in the Church of England is the daily service in use. The Common Prayer-book is made up of the *Roman Breviary and Missal* or *Mass-book*.

temporal, against the privileges of the universities,—in fine, to the great cost of the people : this Society seems to blemish the honour of the monastic state ; it weakens entirely the painful, pious, and very necessary exercise of the virtues, of abstinences, ceremonies, and austerity. It even gives occasion very freely to desert the Religious Orders : it withdraws from the obedience and submission due to the Ordinaries. It unjustly deprives lords, both temporal and ecclesiastical, of their rights, carries trouble into the government of both, causes many subjects of complaint amongst the people, many law-suits, stripes, contentions, jealousies, and divers schisms or divisions.

“ Wherefore, after having examined all these matters, and several others, with much attention and care, this Society appears dangerous as to matters of Faith, capable of disturbing the peace of the Church, overturning the Monastic Order, and more adapted to break down than to build up.”¹

In addition to this withering censure, Eustace Du Bellay, the Archbishop of Paris, came down upon the Jesuits with an interdict prohibiting them from the exercise of the sacred functions.

The high respectability of the accusers—a Catholic Faculty of Theology—a Catholic Archbishop—seems to give resistless weight to the charges—all pointing to facts then before the world—open to investigation, confutation, or justification. Had this respectable Faculty, and this respectable Archbishop, instead of a condemnation, issued a manifesto of approval and laudation to the Society, the Jesuits themselves would not fail to remind us of that respectability of their approvers. The *laudari*

¹ Cretineau, i. 320 ; Coudrette, i. 42.

à laudato, praise from the praiseworthy, would have clanged in our ears trumpet-tongued, down to the most distant posterity, and reaching the uttermost limits of earth—*indomitâ cervice feri, ubicunque locorum!*

They cannot therefore think it unreasonable if dispassionate men should lay some considerable stress on this theological and archiepiscopal condemnation, and that Protestants should point to it as a "column of infamy" commemorating their unworthiness, their dangerous and destructive character.

On the other hand, dispassionate men will at once perceive the fangs of inexorable Privilege at her remorseless meal—Monopoly, with her thousand arms, all-grasping

———"extended wide
In circuit, undetermined square or round."

Facts suggest this painful proof of that selfishness which renders the preaching of the Truth a mere scattering of Dead Sea apples, which cannot satisfy the poor soul's hunger. The Faculty had pronounced; the Archbishop had interdicted: *there*, and there only, duty ended. Then jealous Privilege, clutching Monopoly, took up the cudgels and dealt away roundly at the Jesuits. A right glorious theological tempest shot lightnings of Orthodoxy from the four corners of heaven together.

"Down with the Jesuit Institute" was the gospel preached in the pulpits. The Clergy attacked the Jesuits in their sermons: the Professors of the University held up the monsters to their clapping scholars. Placards and libels were hung up in the cross-ways of the Sorbonne, hawked about in the churches, flung under the doors of houses, scattered in the streets.¹

¹ Cretineau, i. 321.

That was the method of Privilege and Monopoly,—and their method is everlasting.

The resident Bishops of Paris followed with interdictions: the Jesuits, however, would not admit themselves vanquished. They crossed the river and begged hospitality from the Prior of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. The abbey was out of episcopal jurisdiction: the Jesuits were sheltered, and permitted to work on the left bank of the Seine.¹

In this affair the conduct of Ignatius was remarkable. The reader remembers how he managed the Archbishop Silicio, how the monks of Saragossa were silenced. This method would have been abortive in France, where the Parliament (the enemy of the Institute) was omnipotent: Ignatius checked every movement of retaliation—silenced his men who deemed it necessary to notice the books written against them, and the Archbishop's decree. The Inquisition and Bishops of Spain had done enough for the present: they had condemned all the decrees as "false, scandalous, and injurious to the Holy See."

In the following year his friend, Cardinal de Lorraine, went to Rome, bringing four doctors of the Faculty of Paris, in his suite; Ignatius appointed a conference, the cardinal presiding. Four Jesuits, Lainez, Olave, Polancus, and Frusis, defended the Institute—the doctors gave in on being "pressed by the cardinal," and "declared that the decree had been published without a knowledge of the cause."²

In the present circumstances this was enough (admit-

¹ Cretineau, i. 321.

² Cretineau, quoting Orlandinus: but the fact is rather doubtful, unless the "recantation" was a mere compliment to the Cardinal. There it is; the reader must judge for himself.

ting the fact on Jesuit authority)—the time was not come for Jesuit rule in France. That fulfilment was one of the very few denied Ignatius on earth : but if he did not live to see it, he left the spirit which effected it—destined, however, like the fondest desires of the heart gratified, to involve at length the ruin of the Society.

A laborious life is drawing to a close ; its last years are as remarkable as any in the life of a man whose destiny it was to achieve wonders, and to transmit his wonder-working mantle to his followers in life, and his worshippers after death. The domestic concerns and commotions of the Society arrest attention during the period immediately preceding the demise of Ignatius.

The influence
of Ignatius
among his
followers.

To create, and to hold what he made, have ever been the characteristic praise of the hero,—and that praise is due to Ignatius of Loyola.

He was not always one of those heartless, rigid zealots who turn all they touch into ice or tears.¹ It was by the feelings, by the sentiments, by the heart, that he penetrated to the soul. The man who possesses the power to excite, has the resistless magic of influence—and its results are submission, willing, eager compliance in the human heart.

It mattered not how his end was accomplished,—if it seemed good to Ignatius it *must* be accomplished ; and it was rarely unaccomplished. With individuals, as with parties, his method was the same : he tried every means, and submitted not to defeat unless compelled by necessity.

¹ "O der herzlosen, steifen Eiserer ! was sie berühren, wird Eis oder Thron."—*Spindler, Der Jesuit*. In one of the ephemeral pamphlets against the Jesuits this work is denounced as *favourable* to the Jesuits. The writer could never have read Spindler's book.

On one occasion a Jesuit was resolved to return to the world. His motive is not stated; probably it is omitted because he did *not* return to the world; in that case it would have been, necessarily, bad. Ignatius "went to him during the night, and using supplications and threats, all together, he made such an impression on his heart, that the father threw himself at the general's feet, and offered to undergo the penalty that might be imposed. One part of your penance," exclaimed Ignatius, embracing him, "will be never again to repent of having served God: as for the other part, I take it on myself—I will perform it myself."¹

With the young, as may be expected, still greater was his influence. Ribadeneyra was young, and not very prudent: his extravagance went so far as to shake off the yoke of obedience, and to feel so strong a repugnance to Ignatius, that he could not bear the sight of the holy father! Ignatius sent for him one day, and only said *three words to him*. In the instant Ribadeneyra threw himself at his feet, and bursting into tears, exclaimed—"I will do, Father, I will do whatever you like!"²

Whence was that influence, that power over the human heart? Let those answer the question who have come into contact with a man of strong feelings and mental vigour—a man of passion and yet a man of reason—combining all that is so seductive in the flesh with what is most thrilling in the spirit. Calm reason traces the result to a great endowment: fanaticism ascribes it to supernatural agency—to a superhuman spirit—the *daimon* of Socrates, believed in and venerated

¹ Bouhours, ii. 28.

² Id. ii. 282. The "Spiritual Exercises" were in question, and the youth was reluctant to the operation.

by his followers. "Lainez, one day, asked Ignatius in confidence, if it was true, according to report, that he had an *archangel* for his angel guardian? The saint (Ignatius) made no answer, but he flushed, and to use the words of Lainez, he was disconcerted, somewhat as a modest girl would be, who, being alone in her chamber, were surprised by a strange man at an improper hour."¹

His followers believed him to be a "great saint." He was told so, on one occasion, and he enhanced their admiration by reprimanding the party, saying: "that to see sanctity in so great a sinner as himself, was to debase and dishonour it"—superadding that "such words were true blasphemy."²

And yet, all the wonderful things—the private wonderful things which we have recorded of Ignatius, were divulged by *himself*: his visions and his dreams are recorded from his own lips—unless his followers have invented the curious and edifying facts.

Notwithstanding all they have recorded—as necessarily from the lips of the saint—the Jesuits still boast his virgin modesty, and even render his charity doubtful in a fact whereby they would prove his bashfulness. One of his seven confessors (too many could not be witnesses of his supernaturality) "could not so well contain himself, but that some words slipped from him, imparting something which he durst not speak out," and he desired to outlive Ignatius, "at least some few hours, that he might without scruple reveal what he knew; and he said he

¹ I translate literally, and therefore, clumsily—"Une honnête fille, qui étant seule dans sa chambre, serait surprise par un inconnu à une heure indue."—*Bouhours*, ii. 272, et seq. In the "Life of Ignatius," published in Dublin, 1841, the fact of the blushing is retained, but the startling comparison is omitted. P. 85.

² Ibid.

had things to tell which could not be heard without astonishment." A brother, complying with the Jesuit rule, reported these words to the general. The father-confessor "died some days before Father Ignatius," and "it was the opinion of the fathers, then alive, that the saint had begged God that Eguia's (the confessor's) wish might not be accomplished."¹

The reader may imagine that these are the most wonderful things told of the first Jesuit; but let him peruse the "Life of Ignatius," by any of his biographers—even the cheap Dublin publication—and he will see how every page iterates the sublimely-ridiculous, the ridiculously-sublime.

The barefaced effrontery with which the Jesuits relate the impossible miracles of Ignatius and Xavier, has rendered extremely doubtful the narrative of their wonderful missions in all parts of the world.

But, in that age of superstition and fanaticism, it was difficult to stretch human credulity beyond its given elasticity. Besides, the high renown of the founder and his associates claimed somewhat of the wonderful. It is therefore not surprising that heaven should be made to exalt him whom earth beheld with a well-fostered admiration—since men have only to feel convinced that a thing is good, and they will find a place for it in heaven.

On the pinnacle of this adoration, Ignatius astounded his followers by *abdicated the Generalate*. "Having considered the matter maturely, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, I renounce, simply and absolutely, the Generalate." Such were the clenching words of the letter

He abdicates
the Generalate.

¹ Bouhours, ii. 273.

which he wrote to the assembly of the fathers, imparting the abdication.

Praises of his humility, astonishment and tender emotions are described as attending that announcement. All but one member opposed the offer. Oviedo, with characteristic *naïveté*, gave his opinion, that Father Ignatius should be allowed to have his own way. "And why?" was the general question. "Because," said Oviedo, "he who is a saint, has lights which we have not."

It appears that he spoke these words with his eyes closed, for we are told that, "opening his eyes forthwith, and recognising that the saints are sometimes unjust towards themselves, he condemned his first thought, and gave into the common opinion." This opinion was made known to the general: he remonstrated: they would not listen to him: he was forced to submit.

His agitation was so great, that he had a fit of illness: but he recovered to rule with more vigour than ever.

A heretic was detected amongst the Roman novices, actually sent by "Philip Melancthon, and another heresiarch, with orders to counterfeit the Catholic."¹

A heretic
among the
novices.

The man of divine lights was unable to detect the trick: this Protestant emissary actually deceived Ignatius, and began to propagandise amongst the novices. He was of course reported, carried before the Inquisition, and condemned to the galleys. This Jesuit fact speaks for itself, and needs no commentary, even for the sake of the virtuous Melancthon. And it is significant. Ignatius connived at the scandalous conduct of the young German in the novitiate, in order to gain him

¹ Bouhours, ii. 111.

over, but sent this heretic at once to the galleys. It shows how *faith* will cover as many sins as charity. In aftertimes the Jesuit-casuists and confessors were as indulgent to vice, and, of course, as severe to heresy.

If heresy was foiled in the attempt to corrupt the novitiate, glory was thwarted in endeavouring to weaken the Society. Charles V. would invest Borgia with the Roman purple! The pope eagerly consented. The whole Sacred College unanimously approved the nomination. Ignatius opposed it with all his might. "If all the world fell at my feet, begging me not to oppose the investment, I would not yield!" Such was his exclamation, after three days' reflection in solitude. Pope, emperor, cardinals, strove in vain: the Spaniard was inflexible. The utility of the Society and Borgia's reputation were more important than the glory of Sacred College. At length he suggested a subterfuge. The dignity was to be offered to Borgia, and, if he refused it, his Holiness would not enforce the acceptance. The result need scarcely be stated: Borgia remained a Jesuit.

It was not to the honour that Ignatius objected, but the certain loss that the Society would sustain. Honour, combined with the Society's advancement, always found him open-hearted. The King of Portugal, John III., pitched his eyes on the Jesuit Miron for a confessor. Miron declined the honour, conscientiously it would appear, and certainly agreeably to the letter of the Constitutions. His answer was sent to the general. Ignatius "condemned it absolutely," and gave the most satisfactory reasons to the Jesuit's conscience for stifling its scruples.¹

¹ Bouhours, ii. 130.

Inflexible in his resolutions, he could wreath the rod of iron with roses until it became invisible. He appointed Lainez to be Provincial of Italy at Padua. Lainez refused the dignity, alleging, "that Lainez and obedience. he did not as yet know enough how to obey in order well to command." In truth, an active life suited best that energetic spirit. But Ignatius told him "it was the will of God, and he was forced to yield."¹

Lainez became provincial. Matters did not please him. Ignatius drew all his best workmen to Rome. He complained, as well he might, since he had a right to some share in "the greater glory of God;" it was but natural that he should wish to fire the guns which he loaded.

Ignatius replied that Rome was the focus of the Order; that there it should shine in all its splendour, since it was from the Pontifical City that the greater number of the fathers went forth.²

Lainez proved that he was not a perfect adept in obedience; he ventured to reply. It was a hard matter. Then came the talisman: Ignatius wrote back as follows:

"I am annoyed by your continuing to write to me on the same subject, after my answer that the common good is to be preferred to the particular, and a greater interest to a less. Reflect on your conduct; then let me know if you acknowledge your fault,—and, in case you find yourself guilty, let me know what penalty you are ready to undergo for your fault."

Lainez saw at once what was impending. Never did Spartan convey more meaning in a laconic than the redoubtable general in that brief epistle. Here is the effect:

¹ Bouhours, ii. 132.

² Cretineau, i. 334.

“ My Father, when your Reverence’s letter was delivered to me, I began to pray to God ; and having made my prayer with many tears (which happens to me rarely), here is the resolution I have taken, and take again to-day, with tears in my eyes. I desire that your Reverence, into whose hands I place and abandon myself entirely,—I desire, I say, and I beg by the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, in order to punish my sins, and to tame my disordered passions, which are their source, your Reverence would withdraw me from the government, and from study, even so far as to leave me no other book than my Breviary ; compel me to go to Rome begging my way, and that there I may be occupied till death, in the lowest offices of the House ; or, if I be not suited thereto, that your Reverence should command me to pass the rest of my days in teaching the first elements of grammar, having no regard of me, and never looking upon me but as the scumbar of the world. This is what I chose for my penance in the first place.”

Then he offered to submit to these penalties only for a term—two or three years, according to the general’s wish. Thirdly, he proposed several scourgings, a fast of four weeks ; and that every time he wrote to the general, he would first pray, and would consider well his letter ; and, having written it, he would read it over with attention, taking care not to say anything which might cause the least annoyance to his good Father, and even striving to use only such expressions as were calculated to give him joy.

“ This single example,” observes Bouhours, “ shows the authority that Father Ignatius had in his Order, and how he wished that the superiors should be sub-

missive to the general." He also adds another remark. "Hence we may also judge how great was the humility of a man who had been admired at the Council of Trent, and how docile great minds are when they have truly the spirit of God." The reader will decide for himself on the relative value of both explanations; certainly the general's authority is clearly established.

Ignatius, of course, did not ratify the penance; but he gave him one, however, which was, to compose a *theological work*, "to serve as an antidote to the books of the heretical divines;" as if he clearly guessed the source of all the provincial's discontent, his probable displeasure at being withdrawn from the stirring battle of controversy.¹

A more important domestic difficulty filled the mind of Ignatius with anxiety, and gave the Company a significant warning. Occurring even in the twelfth year of her existence, it demands notice and remembrance. Amongst the first establishments of the Society was that in Portugal. Under the tropic sun of royal favour it had grown rapidly and rank, and now, under its own weight, was sinking to decay. Poverty, persecution, or resistance, all manner of difficulties had, in other places, given strength and elastic energy to Jesuit establishments; but, in Portugal, royal patronage and the nation's benevolence produced results quite contrary. The prospect of extending the Society over the wide possessions of Portugal in the East, blandly tempted the Portuguese Jesuits to multiply their operations; the king stimulated them with his lavish bounties and flattering exhortations. These prospects, and this glorious prosperity, or the example of

Internal
decay already
apparent.

¹ See Bouhours, ii. 132, *et seq*; Cretineau, i. 334, *et seq*.

the first fathers, if we agree with the Jesuit historian, enticed numbers to the Society, and very many were received. In 1551 there were no less than one hundred and fifty Jesuit-alumni in the college of Coimbra.¹

Most of these were youths of rank, and glowing passions. Rodriguez was their superior, but they were become the masters. Discipline was almost at an end : the regulations of the establishment were exceedingly few, or a dead letter. Obedience was obsolete, poverty took flight, it is not stated what became of chastity. Dress they attended to assiduously ; the study of spirituals languished ; worldly notions prevailed. They indulged in jokes and wrote sarcastic verses. In short, the life they led was luxurious and expensive ; they enjoyed the blessings of Mammon whilst they laid claim to the merits of religious poverty.² Rodriguez, the superior, was blamed for these disasters : he did not copy the severe example of the founder, in ruling the Society. His mild government was stated to be the cause of the misfortune. A man of miracles, he had cured a leper by making him lie in the same bed with him, and other foul patients by embracing them : but

¹ " In Lusitano regno Societas, non iisdem quibus in aliis fermè terris orta et adulta principiis, molâ jam suâ (ut præfœstinata assolent) laborabat. Quippe cùm firma alibi fundamenta fere in rerum penuriâ, insectationibus, et omnibus ærumnarum generibus jacta essent, in Lusitaniâ pro benignitate Regis ac gentis humanitate evenerant plane contraria : cumque messis amplitudo totum late per Orientem blande se offerens, ad multiplicandas operas invitaret, Rexque sive subsidii affatim conferendis, sive benignis verborum hortatibus incitaret : ac primorum exempla Patrum ad Dei famulatum allicerent plurimos, recepti sunt sane permulti."—*Orland.* xii. 54.

² " Tyrocinii disciplina penè nulla dum erat constituta : leges vero domesticæ omnino perpaucæ solvi paulatim obedientiæ, curari studiosiùs corpora : frigere studia divinæ sapientiæ ; contraque sic terreno vigore, ut nec deesset, qui scommata jacere, et mordaciores condere versus auderet. Manabat latè malum in victu, cultuque subrepere supervacancas commoditates, et alicubi sumptus fieri religiosæ paupertati minimè consentaneos."—*Id.* xii. 55.

he could not, it seems, dispel the foul diseases of the soul from the embryo-Jesuits of Coimbra. He permitted them to live according to their inclinations ; or if he sometimes reprimanded them, he did it so gently that he only strengthened them in their bad habits. Ignatius took the thing in hand vigorously. He sent the Jesuit Miron to displace Rodriguez, giving the disgraced provincial the option of an *Apostolate* in Brazil or the administration of another province. This was, we are assured, "to save his reputation." Having no longer *Portuguese* to govern, his conduct would not be so mild and relaxed ; and as the general knew that the Spanish fathers felt but little sympathy for the Portuguese fathers, by the natural antipathy between the two nations ; and as he desired nothing more than to unite them "in Jesus Christ," he destined Rodriguez for the province of Aragon, and Miron for that of Portugal.¹ At the first intimation of the event the whole court of Portugal was in excitement. They could not do without the gentle father. The mild Rodriguez was the balm of their wounded conscience. Still greater was the stir among the interesting young Jesuits,—the hope of the Eastern missions,—the apostles of the West,—the future restorers of ancient Religion, and the Ages of Faith. These noble striplings of obedience positively declared that they could not obey any one but good Father Rodriguez, and actually talked of "leaving all," not for the sake of gaining Christ, but in case they lost Rodriguez.²

Ignatius held the reins of the restive steeds. He

¹ Bouhours, ii. 140, *et seq.* "Comme le General savait bien que les Peres Espagnols n'avaient pas trop d'inclination pour les Pères Portugais, par l'antipathie naturelle que est entre ces deux nations," &c. p. 142.

² Id. ii. 143.

wrote letters all round, dealing argument, expostulation, and admonition. He carried the point; Miron was installed, and he set to the work of reformation in right good earnest. He was as severe and rigid as his predecessor was mild and relaxed. The children of obedience loudly complained as the rod fell heavily on their pampered backs. So great was the commotion that Ignatius was on the point of proceeding in person to Portugal to quell the rebels. He contented himself to try first what a substitute might do, and dispatched Torrez as a visitor to the field of battle. His first order was to send Rodriguez out of Spain, where he remained as Provincial of Arragon, and this eye-sore being at a distance, the youths of rank and obedience grew calmer; but all was finally adjusted by Miron's change of conduct, according to Ignatius's commands.¹ Thus Ignatius yielded to the weakness of noble students, as to that of the young German; but brought down the pride of Lainez by stern opposition, and sent a heretic to the galleys. Already, too, we see, in the whole proceeding, the immense difference between the letter of the Constitutions and the local spirit of Jesuit-practice. In truth, we shall not fail to find almost every promulgation of the Institute belied in practice or dispensed with, on emergencies. Wrench up old nature by the roots, still you will find her offsets sprouting up again. The Jesuits made too much use of *nature* not to find her their mistress at last—yielding for a time, but, in the moment of conscious power, rushing upon them with teeth and nails triumphant.

The new provincial yielded to the storm, as directed by Ignatius, who traced him the line of conduct he was

¹ Bouhours, ii. 147.

to pursue with the young rebels of Coimbra. Success crowned his efforts, even beyond his expectations and desire. A strange revolution ensued. Many had seceded, and rumour made the most, or rather the worst, of the transaction. It was a desperate hour for Jesuit-ascendancy in Coimbra—in Portugal. Something must be done to retrieve all-powerful influence. A glorious self-devotion was required, some striking example to agitate the minds and hearts of humanity. Godinius, the rector of the college, resolved to play the scape-goat or the *hazazel*, and take upon his bare shoulders the burthen of iniquity. On the octave of All Saints, he summoned his fellow-Jesuits to the chapel, and conjured them to put up prayers to God fervently for a certain man—meaning himself—much in need thereof, and for the sins of the whole Society, particularly the province of Portugal, and also for the sins of the seceders. He enjoined them not to stir from the chapel until dismissed. Thereupon he bared his shoulders, seized a scourge, and rushed into the street. Through the whole city he ran lashing himself without mercy, and at twelve of the most frequented resorts, falling upon his knees, with a loud voice, with tears and sobs he exclaimed: “Ye nobles and people of Coimbra, pardon me for the sake of the scourging of Christ the Redeemer; pardon me, whatever offence the College of Jesus has given you. Behold, I am the man whose sin is the offence, whatever is the offence. This wrath of God has been deserved by my transgressions.” Having thus scourged the whole city, he enters the chapel suddenly once more, with the reverberating crash of the strokes as he laid them on his shoulders, *cum magno verberum fragore repentinus ingreditur*. The Jesuits at prayer were confounded at

A reaction.

the sight and the sound. He told them what he had done, and why, and all with copious tears. Example is catching, and they caught it with a vengeance. Instantly the same fury seized the rest of the Jesuits—'twas such a capital idea. One of them, Quadrius by name, who had shared the administration of the guilty college, protested that he shared the fault,—*si qua esset*—*if* there was any, for the Jesuits cling to innocence to the very brink of the precipice, and beyond, for aught we know to the contrary. All took fire—all cried for an expiation,—*ut concedatur piaculum*. Godinius reflected for an instant, and resolved to second their heated minds,—*calentibus animis ratus obsecundandum*; he ordered them once more into the chapel. "Here," he cried, "together assembled, in order that your service may be acceptable to the most divine Trinity, unite it to the sufferings most acceptable of Christ the Saviour, who offered himself for us to God and the Father in the odour of sweetness. Then, set before your eyes that sight in which, all over blood, with the bristling crown of thorns, he was led forth in mock purple to the people: and listen to the President exclaiming, Behold the man. Let us spend an hour in the contemplation of this spectacle, and then, with the aid of divine grace, we will march forth into the streets with our cross. Scarcely had the hour elapsed, when all inflamed and angry with themselves, —*accensi omnes iratique sibi*, and breathing a certain divine ardour, and being admonished not to be so much intent on lacerating their bodies, as on following, in thought, the Lord burthened with his cross, as though they went to aid Him, they sallied forth, more than sixty in number, lashing themselves to desperation,—*validè sese cædentes*. There was borne before them a

mighty banner, representing Christ hanging on the Cross ; and two of the younger Jesuits went before, singing the Litanies, to which the rest of the troop, chiming in between the crash of whips in mournful mutterings, responded. An immense mob of Coimbra gathered at the sight and followed in admiration.



FLAGELLANTS.

They reached the House of Mercy. The rector prayed awhile on the steps, and then turned to the surrounding multitude, with his fellow-Jesuits gathered around him, ascribed it to his own sins, if any offence had been given, begged pardon as a suppliant, and moreover conjured them to join their prayers to his in order to propitiate the Almighty. He spoke so sorrowfully, and so tearfully, that the people too began to cry. They crowded to the altar : the rector recited some prayers, and then all with one accord, shouting and weeping, cried " Mercy for the fathers "—*omnes cum clamore, et*

lacrymis, misericordiam comprecantur. Nothing remains to be translated but the remarks of the Jesuit-historian on this astonishing Epiphany. "Some there were who thought these holy things absurd. Certainly such an example was not necessary: but it was nevertheless wonderful how it embalmed the minds of the citizens, ulcerated by the calumnies of the seceders from the Society; and renewed the hearts of the brethren, filled by a certain horror as it were, and deeply agitated, to receive once more the seeds of divine wisdom."¹ The wayward students of Coimbra rushed to the opposite extreme. Fervour became in fashion. Every man chose his own method with regard to his spiritual edification. Some consumed their bodies with austerities—lacerating their persons and scourging themselves to death: others, charmed by the sweets of contemplation, passed days and nights in spiritual communion with God, without scarcely thinking of study.²

It was on this occasion that Ignatius wrote his famous epistle on the Virtue of Obedience.

He begins with stating that obedience is the only virtue which produces and cherishes the other virtues; that, properly speaking, it is *the* virtue of the Society, and the character which distinguishes its children: that, thus, other religious Orders might surpass them in fastings, in watchings, and in many other austere

¹ Orland. xii. 62, 65. This is one of the awful facts omitted by Bouhours and Cretineau-Joly. The reason is obvious. It is, however, absolutely necessary to account for the mighty change which *all* the modern historians fail not to put forth. If I stopped to notice the tricks of the Jesuits, and of their foes, in the manner and matter of their facts, each volume would be swelled to two or more. I have been utterly disgusted with the experience. Probably there was some other cause for this disgrace in Portugal, but where are we to find it recorded! In the archives of the Jesuits. They alone can write a perfect history of the Order in its worst light.

² Bouhours, ii. 149.

practices which each of them observes piously, according to the spirit of their vocation ; but as to what concerns obedience, they ought not to yield the palm to them ; and that their vocation obliges them to render themselves perfect in that virtue.

He then establishes, on reasons deduced from the Scriptures and the Fathers, three degrees of obedience. The first and lowest consists in doing what is commanded : the second is, not only to execute the orders of the superior, but *to conform our will to his*. The third is, to consider what is commanded as the most reasonable and the best, for this only reason—that *the superior considers it as such*. In order to attain this degree so elevated, which is called “the obedience of the understanding,” he says that we ought not to care whether he who commands is wise or imprudent, holy or imperfect ; but consider in him only the person of Jesus Christ, who has placed His authority into his hands, in order to guide us,—and who, being wisdom itself, will not permit His minister to be mistaken.¹

This letter was despatched to every province of the Society, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America : it was the new gospel of the Jesuits.

Meanwhile the unfortunate Rodriguez was somewhat persecuted and annoyed by being reproached with the disorders of Coimbra. This pious man “felt a little resentment at not being sent back into Portugal.”² He had reasons for complaint, as he thought, and “his annoyance induced him to demand justice from the general.”

Ignatius complied, appointed a tribunal of the Professed to investigate the charges. Rodriguez was

¹ Bouhours, ii. 151.

² Id. ii. 183.

condemned on two heads : 1. For having cared little to establish in Portugal the manner of life prescribed by the common father, Ignatius, for the whole Society. 2. For having shown too much mildness and indulgence in his government. Rodriguez submitted "with profound humility," and asked a penance. He was only forbidden to return into Portugal, lest his presence might again stir up the ardent nobles of the Jesuit-college ; "and he was permitted," in other words, ordered to go to Palestine, where Ignatius thought of founding a college of the Society. Rodriguez departed, but fell ill at Venice, whence he was sent to Spain, and had the pleasure of subsequently dying in his dear Portugal, at Lisbon, in 1579, at a very advanced age, and was called "the most sweet and amiable."¹ Miron, his successor in the province, was charged by Ignatius, never more to conceal any divisions among the brotherhood, nor the men who said "I am for Paul," "I am for Cephas." Unless they humbly submitted their necks to "the yoke of Christ," he must expel them from the Society ; or if there was hope of amendment, he must send them to Rome, where the father himself, although otherwise much engaged, would endeavour to make them fructify. In consequence of this charge, it appears that the brother of the Duke of Braganza was sent to Rome. His royal blood produced such spirits in this Jesuit, that, unless they were moderated, they might prove no small detriment to the Society.² Gonzalvez Camera was chosen by the king as his confessor in the place of Rodriguez. This Jesuit declined the honour. Ignatius ordered him to yield to the king's

¹ Bouhours, ii. 133, *et seq.* ; Feller, Biog. Univ. ; Francus, Syn. Annal. S. J. 118.

² Francus, Syn. Annal. S. J. 35.

desire, and not to leave the court : if he had done so already, to return forthwith.¹ The Jesuits invent reasons for this determination of their astute law-giver : the best, however, is the most obvious : he wanted a handle at court. His Society would have many such hereafter—and certainly not to their best interest. Royal favour in its brightest day would herald the downfall of the Company.

These internal commotions were followed by troubles more threatening to the Society. An edict was issued by Charles V., compelling the residence of ecclesiastical incumbents. The Jesuits had, More troubles. or were accused of having, a share in the edict : complaints were made to the pope, who was induced to object to the measure. The Jesuits were banished from the Apostolical palace. The storm lowered—men began to predict a downfall. Father Ignatius was ill—the danger increased ; but, as soon as he could move, he went to the Vatican, without an introduction, and managed to pacify the pope, who dismissed him with assurances of perfect good will and protection.²

This fortunate turn of affairs saved the credit of the Society on a remarkable occasion which followed. A young Neapolitan had been received into the Child-stealing. Society, and was called to Rome by the general. His father, a man of standing, came to Rome and demanded back his son, alleging that he had been taken from him unwillingly. He appealed to the pope ; and the Archbishop of Naples, one of his friends, and opposed to the Jesuits. The pope referred the matter to the Cardinal Caraffa, a sort of rival of Ignatius, being the founder of the Theatines.

¹ Franc. Synops. Ann. S. J. p. 34.

² Bouhours, ii. 191.

The boy's mother came express from Naples to join in the solicitation. It does appear that there was some trick or concealment on the part of the Jesuits ; as if they had removed the youth from place to place, until discovered at Rome in the bosom of Father Ignatius. It was painful to behold the mother's grief at her bereavement. She ran about the city distracted, in tears, imploring God's justice, and that of men, against the ravishers of her son.

Caraffa took the mother's part, and passed sentence commanding Ignatius to give up the youth, threatening him with the Church-censures if he disobeyed.

Ignatius appealed to the pope, and gained him over : the sentence was annulled, and the Jesuits retained the youth.

The cold-blooded Jesuit did more ; he induced the pope to establish a Congregation of Cardinals to take cognizance of such matters for the future—"because the same case might revert more than once, in order to confirm the vocation of the young Jesuits against flesh and blood which might attack it."¹

Caraffa subsequently became pope. He was thought to be opposed to the Jesuits, because his judgment in the late affair was annulled by Julius III. Paul IV. and the Jesuits. Ignatius, too, had formerly refused to unite the Society with the Theatines founded by Caraffa. All the fathers were alarmed at his election. Indeed, at the successive accession of every pope, the Jesuits seem to have trembled as men engaged in a cause itself not its own defence, as men who placed no more than human confidence in their extraordinarily divine announcements and pretensions. On the present occasion

¹ Bouhours, ii. 193, *et seq.*

Ignatius put himself in prayer, and, “knew clearly that Paul IV. (Caraffa) would be but too favourable to the Society”—in other words prophesied the result by inspiration. Caraffa was certainly kind to the Jesuits. He even proposed to invest Lainez with the purple ; but, of course, the proposal was rejected. He then gave him an appointment in the Vatican ; but the restless Jesuit only held it one day, when he ran off, and took refuge with Father Ignatius once more :¹ it was impossible to separate a Jesuit from his cause—union of body and soul was ever the characteristic of the Jesuits.

In the events which signalised the life of Ignatius, the whole history of the Jesuits has its representative. It would seem that he designed a model for every possible contingent ; or that his fol- Academical display. lowers have built their system round about his name as the canonised guarantee of its efficacy and success. One peculiar feature of the scheme remains to be sanctioned by the holy founder—academical display to captivate the minds of men.

His Roman college was designed as a model to all others. He spared no pains to render it flourishing. Besides Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, it taught all the sciences, and was provided with good professors. At every hour, he would make enquiries respecting the studies ; and to animate the scholars and masters he would often appoint intellectual contests in the classes, at which he assisted, bringing with him cardinals and other men of rank. On one occasion these disputations lasted eight days ; and he got the theses printed and circulated in all directions.

¹ Bouhours, ii. 197, *et seq.*

"In order to give still more reputation to the College, he ordered the professors to begin the terms with public harangues ; and at the end of the academical year, the scholars performed theatrical pieces, to attract men of talent by the beauty of the composition, and the people by the splendour of the performance."¹

He obtained permission from the pope that the scholars of the Roman College should pass Masters of Arts and Doctors, after due examination :—thus nothing more was wanted to give perfection to the scheme.

He insisted upon the cultivation of the vernacular language, and gave the example, by requiring Ribadeneyra to correct his own grammatical errors in speaking Italian, to which he had applied on becoming general ; he ever insisted upon having his "bad words and bad phrases" written down with the view to their correction—"so fully was he convinced that the Jesuits who, by their Institute, have to do with the world, ought to possess a perfect knowledge of the country's language." The Constitutions require this accomplishment.² "Hence," observes Bouhours, "it follows, that a Jesuit who neglects to speak correctly, keeps his rule badly ; and those who pretend that a Jesuit deviates from the character of his profession in studying to acquire purity in his mother-tongue, know not what they say. These people ought to remember that the heretics, having from all times professed polish in their language, to gain over the people, and to instil their venom, the Society of Jesus, which is destined to give them battle, ought to employ all sorts of arms, even the study of the living languages ; and should, if possible, know them perfectly, were it only to make a diversion and deprive the enemies of the

¹ Bouhours, ii. 213.

² Part IV. c. 8, § 3.

Church of the advantage which they arrogate to themselves sometimes, of speaking and writing more elegantly than others.¹

The twelfth year of the Society, whose remarkable events we have just contemplated, was made memorable by the death of Francis Xavier, the "Apostle of the Indies," "the Alexander of the Missions." The "Foreign Missions." The most astounding events of his "mission," were the inventions or concoctions of a later epoch in the annals of Jesuitism ; as such they seem misplaced at the beginning of this history : but, as the Jesuitico-Indian mission was begun by this ardent, indefatigable, but very erratic preacher, his career demands notice amongst the beginnings of the Jesuits. A few words of introduction, and we will proceed with the history of Xavier, the Alexander of the missions.

In a sermon on the Last Judgment, a preacher of Navarre, speaking of the trumpets which will awake the dead, at the end of the world, exclaimed : " Yes, sinners! you will hear them when you will be least thinking of them—perhaps to-morrow—what do I say ? To-morrow ? Perhaps at this very instant ! " And sure enough, at that instant the vaults of the church resounded with the pealing blast of a dozen trumpeters whom he had concealed in the nave. All fled away trembling. But from that hour the preacher was accounted a saint among the good people of Navarre.² Now, the "*foreign*

¹ Bouhours, ii. p. 214.

² Philom. [Peignot] Predicat. p. 249. Such tricks as these are by no means uncommon. I myself had a share in one of them (*pars magna fui*) when a boy, and much given to the service of the altar. It was in the island of St. Bartholomew. I was the priest's acolyte, or attendant, in the ceremonies, and had always to stand beside him whilst he preached. The day was Good Friday. Monsieur l'abbé was resolved to make a sensation. In the sacristy, or vestry, he gave me a crucifix to conceal under my surplice, until we were in the pulpit. We

missions” are the *trumpeters* of the Jesuits. But only to those who are not in the secret of “the nave.” The foreign missions give to their Society apostolic glory—in the estimation of the Catholic ; excite some wonder, if not admiration in the breast of the Protestant ; and—supply a few interesting facts to the Science of Mind.

The history of the Society has been said to be “as entertaining as the Arabian Nights.”¹ That was an apt comparison. Women, and children, and the like, can tell the reason why : but no portion of that history, as narrated by the Jesuits themselves, exceeds in entertainment the veritable Arabian Night of their Foreign Missions. Viewed, however, psychologically, the history of the Jesuits and their “missions,” becomes interesting to men, as well as to women, children, and the like. Being profusely the unhesitating, unscrupulous historians of their own exploits, the Jesuits plentifully fed the *dura ilia*, the coarse stomachs of wonder-craving devotees, apparently conscious that when completely gorged, with maw distent, these boa constrictors of the temple would prove an easy prey in their torpidity.

Very early they formed the design ; followed out the

mounted. I stood beside him, anxiously waiting for the dread sentence, holding the crucifix out of sight. The moment came at last. “Behold your God!” he cried, snatching the crucifix—but sad perversity of fate—it broke by his violence, and the image swung round by the feet, with the head downwards,—everybody gazing, and some bitterly smiling, whilst the disconcerted preacher perspired from the face profusely. He had the conscience to blame *me* for the misfortune.

¹ Oxford and Cambridge Review, for Sep. 1845. The article was written by a pupil of the Jesuits, greatly in their favour and bitterly against Eugene Sue. Appearing in a professed *Protestant* periodical, it naturally made a great stir, like the animal braying in the church porch during the sermon. The editor publicly stated that he had been deceived in the matter ; but its author was far more deceived than himself, both in its composition and the interpretation of the consequences. The whole, with which I am thoroughly acquainted, makes a very curious anecdote of modern vagaries, *another* Arabian Night’s Entertainment.

scheme with great perseverance ; and, in process of time, a wonderful "development" was given to their missionary lore in their famous "Edifying and Curious Letters, concerning Asia, Africa, and America."¹ From first to last, it is an Arabian Night's Entertainment—the story of Noureddin Ali and Bedreddin Hassan for ever.

Acosta began the scheme by virtue of Holy Obedience, as early as "the year of the Virgin Godbearer 1571."² Startling as this mode of dating may be to the reader, he may be informed that it frequently occurs in Acosta's book ; and certainly the wonderful interpositions of the Virgin Mary in aid of the missionaries were quite sufficient to make them forget Him whom they proposed to preach, and date the year of Grace from the Mother rather than the Son.³

The achievements of the Society of Jesus in the East and West have not been permitted to lie in the coffin of oblivion,—*carent quia vate sacro*—for want of an inventive genius. Missionary lore forms and fills a large mansion in the kingdom of Jesuitism. It is constructed with doric simplicity without ; but within, no eastern nor modern bazaar for trade, or charitable purposes, displays more curiosities to tempt the fancy, or to open the Christian's heart. *Curious* it is, for it treats of men and manners, arts, sciences, countries and their

¹ Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, &c., fourteen vols. 8vo., or eight in 12mo., or four in large 8vo., and every possible *mo.*—for the work is a staple commodity with the printers and sellers of "edifying" books for Catholics.

² Rerum à Societate Jesu in Oriente gestarum ad Annum usque MDLXVIII., Comment. Emm. Acostæ, Lusit. &c., Dillingæ, 1571. It is dedicated by Maffei to Cardinal Truchses, who gave the Jesuits the university of Dillingen only a few years before that book was there printed. Hence he states, as one of his motives in the dedication, that the Society acknowledges a great debt to the cardinal—*plurimum tibi debere se proficitur*.

³ Another formula is "Post Virginis partum,"—after the delivery of the Virgin.—*Epist. Jap.* lib. i. ep. i.

productions, vegetable, animal, and mineral. And *edifying* it is, for it tells of millions heaped into the fold of the Church, transformed by miracle, "happy" in the change, and yet, most important fact, rushing back headlong into barbarism and paganism in the hour of temptation, or as soon as the *Jesuit-method* ceased to hold together the "untempered mortar" of Jesuit-masonry.

This fact has been always overlooked, though glaring on the page of history, as we shall read in the sequel. The partisans of Rome grasped at the "annual letters" of the Jesuits, and, whether they believed them or not, it was still incumbent on the orthodox to laud the Apostolate of Rome; it was consistent in the courtier to honour those whom the king honoured; it was policy to give compliments for the good-will of those who were dreaded in the hour of their omnipotence. Their Curious and Edifying Letters became new "Acts of the Apostles." Preachers complimented the Jesuits from the pulpit, devotees crowded to their churches to hear the *éloges*, the laudations of their chief Apostle, and lent their applause to the "great Order"—the "celebrated Society." Fenelon¹ knitted them a purse of praise, and Bossuet² flung them a dash of admiration—one was the kiss of a French gentleman—the other was the grudging penny of the miser; both were to be tested for their truth by the accounts given *by the Jesuits themselves*. Berault-Bercastel, the church historian, apostrophised the Jesuits as "a *Society* of Apostles"³; and, finally,

¹ Œuvres de Fenelon, t. vii. p. 144, in a Sermon preached in the Church of Foreign Missions, at Paris, in 1685.

² Œuvres de Bossuet, t. iv. p. 459, 3rd Sermon on The Circumcision. In the manuscript, says his editor, Bossuet had written "*holy Society*"—then he corrected it into "*learned Society*"—but a third correction left "*celebrated Society*," as above.

³ Hist. de l'Eglise, t. xii. p. 257.

Dr. Wiseman, the London lecturer on controversy, has latterly softened down the burning mass of adulation into merely "a degree of fervor, and purest zeal for the conversion of the heathens, which no other body has ever shown," after having edged in a salvo to the effect that "there may have been among them defects, and members unworthy of their character"—ascribing the same to the fact of the Order being "a *human* institution," for which assertion the Jesuits were not obliged to his lordship of the central district and Melipotamus.¹ Being neither partisans of Rome, nor friends of the Jesuits, nor haters of them, be it our part to examine this interesting page of Jesuit history, rejoicing where we find that the Jesuits have done good to humanity, softened the chain of slavery for the savage, ameliorated the condition of the semi-barbarous—at least for a time—admiring their adventurous spirit, their determined self-sacrifice in pursuit of their object—wishing it had had better results than we find on inquiry—but always turning a very suspicious ear to the "trumpeters in the nave," however "curious" and "edifying."

Let us, then, contemplate the rise and progress of the Jesuit missions *in partibus infidelium*, among the anthropophagi.

The passion for conquest which possessed the Spaniards and Portuguese in the sixteenth century was gratified to the fullest extent. The universe conceded to them by a Papal Bull was secured by unscrupulous, unrelenting warfare. Spain ravished the Americas; Portugal overran Southern Africa, and the continent of

¹ Lectures on the Principal Doctrines, &c., of the Catholic Church, vol. i. p. 218. Dr. Wiseman was so successful with his lectures that his bust was taken, for insulting dead Luther and Calvin so scurrilously—*Dum Priami Paridisque busto—insulset armentum.*

India. The glory of their arms, flag, and name, may have been the first impulse ; it was sufficient, and will

The Spaniards
and the
Portuguese
in their
conquests.

always be sufficient in a false conscience, to justify the invasion of the savage in the peaceful shade of his palm-tree, under his golden roof of Peru, beneath his wigwam in the western wilds. The insatiable lust of gold soon followed, with its attendant furies, and the war of aggression necessarily changed into a struggle to defend what was gained, but disputed, when the wretched natives awoke from their dream, to the hideous realities of their doom. The scheme of christianising them was then conceived, or at least made necessary, in order to ensure their subjection. It is a pitiful thing to see the ministers of religion aiding in dispossessing God's creature of his rights ; but perhaps we must make allowance for the age, although, in this matter, we cannot allow much, seeing that "do unto others as thou wouldst be done by," was a maxim then not unknown, even to pagans.

The Portuguese who were led by Albuquerque to India had seemed more than men to the natives :

The Portu-
guese in
India.

another race soon disabused them—tore the deceitful lens from their simple eyes ; and the horde of greedy, lustful adventurers stood forth in their repulsive nakedness as common-place robbers, libertines, extortioners, oppressors.

But it was too late : the conviction only enhanced their misfortune. The invaders pursued their schemes with determination and success. Priests were sent out to advance the cause of oppression, under the name of religion. Their conduct is described by a Catholic—Sepulveda, historiographer to Charles V., and canon of Salamanca. He says : "In pleasures of all kinds—in

lusts of every description—they tried to legalise the crimes whose shameful enjoyments and brutal satisfactions they *shared*. These priests maintained that it was permitted to despoil the Indians of their fortunes, and subject them to the severest treatment, in order that thus despoiled and deprived of everything, they might be more easily persuaded to receive the faith—*ut sic spoliati et subjecti, facilius per predicatorum suaderetur iis fides.*"¹

With such examples in the sanctuary, we are not startled to hear that "the Portuguese themselves lived more like idolators than Christians." The general object of all these adventurers, was, to get rich as fast as they could, and thus to return and spend their wealth in the mother country, to the impoverishment and injury of the colony—a practice which has been as universal as it has proved disastrous, in all colonial dependencies—disastrous in its results both to the mother country and the colony, but more so to the latter—for it is precisely like a "run" upon a bank of deposit, whose duration, under such circumstances, is dialled by its assets, hourly diminished.² The Portuguese adventurers, in their lust

¹ Sepulv. De justis Belli Causis—apud Cretineau.

² Expand this short-sighted policy of our colonies in all its bearings on the subject of colonial organisation—trace its effects on the method, the social habits prevalent in colonies—discuss the legislative enactments framed selfishly to suit that abuse, rather than to promote justice, or to aid in inducing man to "choose the better part" (his best interest in his best moral condition)—apply your conclusions to every colony in existence, and you will find the cause of that ruin which all believe impending, tracing it to an effect of that abuse, namely, the want of "labour," and the withdrawal of "protection." Whilst Europe has advanced, her colonies have remained stationary. And why? Because they have been mere mines for general excavation,—a country, a *patria* to no man. Let that name be once recognised, and *acted upon*, and then a thousand great and noble motives will administer to progress. There is no other hope of redeemed prosperity for England's colonies in the West: those in the East are not yet on the brink of ruin. But how to permit, and ensure their

for gold, oppressed, ground down the natives. It was not commerce, but plunder. The natives hated them, and in them, their religion. The warm delights of that sun-favoured clime melted what virtue they brought, and evaporated whatever principles they possessed. According to a report sent from India to John III., King of Portugal, by a man of authority and worthy of belief, every man had a harem as extensive as he liked or could maintain. Women were bought or stolen for the vilest purposes of use or profit. Their masters taxed these female slaves at a certain sum per day, and if not paid, they inflicted upon them excessive punishment:—so that these poor wretches, unable sometimes to work hard enough, and dreading to be maltreated, thought themselves compelled to resort to the most disgraceful of avocations, and earned by infamy the sum required. Justice was sold in the tribunals: the sentences were a traffic: the most enormous crimes remained unpunished when the criminals had wherewith to corrupt, or rather, to fee their judges. All means, however iniquitous, were allowed, for the purpose of hoarding up money. Usury was publicly practised. Assassination was a trifle; or they boasted of it as an honourable deed. In a word, lust, avarice, revenge, envy, cruelty, and rapine, were the distinguishing characteristics of these “Christian” colonists.¹

In that state of matters, civil and religious, with such “Christian” examples before them, Xavier went to preach Christianity to the Pagans of India. Ignatius despatched the ardent enthusiast, the destined “Light

independence! There is the question: but it can be soon effectually answered, sooner than the colonies will begin once more “to pay” or “answer.”

¹ Bouhours, *Vie de S. F. Xavier*, i. 52; Bartoli, *Dell' Asia*, p. 30.

of the East," as a Jesuit calls him,¹ after having set him on a blaze by a speech adapted to the man and the case—*Id, y encendedlo todo, y abrasadlo en fuego divino*—go, set all on fire and make all burn with love divine! Here at last was Xavier's ambition, so vividly described by the biographers, dashed into a field equal to the most desirable for errant-knight or benedict Crusader. Utterly ignorant of the manners and customs of the people to whom he was rushing; utterly ignorant of their language, professedly a *bad linguist*, for "in truth he spoke very badly, and his language was but a confused jargon of Italian, French, and Spanish,"² yet was he deemed the fittest subject for an apostle; just as one totally ignorant of fencing stands the best chance with an adept antagonist, simply because he will drive home the rapier, reckless of rules and regulations—to kill, to kill quickly, being the object.³ Miracles and portents would dispense with the knowledge of ethnography, and the Holy Ghost would give him the gift of tongues, for "it is probable at least, that whilst in India, as soon as he studied a language, the Holy Ghost seconded his application, and became in some sort his teacher."⁴ Xavier had to become an apostle, had to "renew, in the latter age, what was most wonderfully done at the birth of the Church;" but let me not mince the Jesuit's

The "Apostolate" of Xavier lauded by Jesuits and depreciated by the same.

¹ Trigautius, De Christ. apud Jap. Triumphia. "S. Franciscus Xaverius lumen illud Orientis," lib. i. c. 2.

² "À la vérité il parlait très mal, et son langage n'était qu'un jargon mêlé d'Italien, de Français, et d'Espagnol."—*Bouhours*, i. 17.

³ See Marryat's "Peter Simple" for an example—O'Brien with the French officer in the prison.

⁴ "Il est probable, du moins, qu'étant aux Indes, dès qu'il étudiait une langue, le Saint-Esprit secondait son application et se faisait en quelque sorte son maître."—*Bouhours*, i. 63.

glorification of his apostle. He begins the hero's life mounted on fifty-league boots bombastical: "I undertake to write the Life of a Saint who hath renewed in the last century what was most wonderfully done at the birth of the Church, and who was himself a living proof of the truth of Christianity. We shall behold in the deeds of a single man the New World converted by the virtue of preaching and by that of miracles: idolatrous kings of the Orient subjected, with their kingdoms, under the obedience of the Gospel; the faith flourishing in the midst of barbarism, and the authority of the Roman Church recognised by nations the most distant, which scarcely knew what *ancient* Rome was. The Apostolic man I am speaking of is Francis Xavier, a member of the Society of Jesus, and one of the first disciples of Saint Ignatius of Loyola."¹ The author of this flourish is Father Bouhours. He wrote a work for the formation of intellectual taste;² he might have quoted the foregoing as a sample of arrant fustian; or he should have flung it amongst his "Ingenious Thoughts of the Ancients and Moderns," as something that occurred to him when the moon was full. Bouhours is surpassed by a more ingenious modern Jesuit, Francis Xavier de Feller, the saint's namesake, you perceive, and determined to prove that he thoroughly felt the glory of the mighty baptismal imposition. "What an enterprise, great God!" this Feller exclaims in the middle of a *sermon*, "what an enterprise to form, so to speak, new characters; command the temperaments; stop, all of a sudden, passions the most violent, the

¹ Vie de S. François Xavier, p. 1.

² Manière de bien penser sur les Ouvrages d'Esprit.—Also, Pensées Ingénieuses des Anciens et des Modernes.

most inveterate, the most extolled ; to displace criminal licentiousness by purity without spot ; to replace bloody anger by the pardon of enemies—cruel avarice by beneficent charity ; to give holy laws to men nourished in superstition and independence ; to form upright morals in souls befouled by the strangest abominations ; to arrest by the hope of invisible goods, hearts which have never loved aught but the goods of earth ! What an enterprise ! Can a mortal man hope for any success therein ? Xavier undertakes to oppose all these enemies, and he triumphs over them : *Constituit prælia multa*, he waged many battles.—He plants, he uproots ; he builds, he breaks down, like the prophet ; he becomes, like the prophet, a wall of brass, a column of fire. A new Ishmael, he attacks, single-handed, all the adversaries of his designs, and, single-handed, he repels all their efforts, all their furies together—*Manus ejus contra omnes, et manus omnium contra eum*—his hand was against all, and the hands of all were against him. Gen. xvi. A new Joshua, he purges the kingdoms of the Orient, gets rid of an infidel and wicked people. More fortunate than Joshua, he does not destroy that people to substitute another, but changes and substitutes them, so to speak, with themselves. A new Elias, he consumes, with the fire of his zeal, all the enemies of his God. A new Judas Maccabæus, he destroys the profane temples, despoils the idols of the honours usurped from the divinity, establishes everywhere the eternal sacrifice What shall I tell you of the incredible number of infidels whom Xavier snatched from error,—sinners he detached from crime ? Would you like to have an idea of it, and conceive how this generous champion of Jesus Christ can boast with reason

of having won victories and spoils without number—*Spolia multitudinis gentium*—the spoils of a multitude of nations ? Ah ! Do not judge, my brethren, by what you see. By the small number of conversions operated by *my* voice and that of the other preachers in the midst of Christianity, don't judge of the success of Xavier's preaching in the midst of infidelity. Whether that the hearts of our hearers have not the same docility, or that our words are not animated by the same zeal, or that Thou, O my God ! for reasons hidden in the breast of thy impenetrable wisdom, dost not accord them the same efficacious grace. What a contrast between Xavier's sermons and ours ! Xavier alone, in a hundred different places, does more than a hundred preachers in the same city. Xavier, by a single sermon, used to convert a thousand sinners : *we*. don't convert a single sinner by a thousand sermons. Nothing resisted his voice. The little and the great, the rich and the poor, the ignorant and the learned, the Christian buried in crime and the pagan blinded by superstition, all listen to him as their father ; his instructions persuade—his advice is law. He arrives at Socotora, and, in a few days, the whole island is changed. He appears at Cape Comorin, and twenty thousand idolators come to acknowledge him the ambassador of the true God. The islanders of Manaar hear him ; become, all of them, Christians, and die, all of them, for the faith. In the bosom of infidelity and barbarism, Xavier's preaching raises every day new churches. And what churches ! Let us proclaim it, my dear hearers, for the glory of the Gospel, for the confusion of the Reformers and some bad critics, who always talk of the primitive Church in order. to disparage the Church of later times ; churches whose

aspect alone became an evident and invincible proof of the worship which Xavier taught ; churches wherein were seen revived all the purity of morals, all the holiness of life, all the splendour of the virtues which adorned the first ages of Christianity ; churches which comprised as many *saints as there were neophytes*—as many spoils snatched for ever from hell as there were barbarians *once* subjected to Christianity—*spolia multitudinis gentium!* In ten years, all the regions from Goa to the extremity of Asia are overrun, instructed, converted : *pertransivit usque ad fines terræ*—he went through unto the ends of the earth. I carry my eyes towards the West, and I carry my eyes towards the East : I turn to the North and the South—everywhere I see the adorable cross of the Saviour of Men planted by Xavier. I see nations separated by vast solitudes, by seas immense, by a group of isles and kingdoms :—and everywhere I see Xavier, and almost *at once and the same time.*"¹

These extracts are from no Middle-Age sermon ; but composed towards the end of the last century. It is a specimen of Jesuit-lore in the eighteenth century!

Now, what are the *facts* of this astounding Apostolate ? The Jesuits themselves shall be appealed to, and they will "let out" correctives to these indigestible crudities of the fancy. During the last years of Ignatius, Xavier gave him a flourishing account of the Indian missions : but, at the same time, "he learnt by other letters that the baptism of the pagans was rather too

¹ Eloge de S. Franç. Xavier par F. X. de Feller, annexed to his edition of Bouhour's Life of Xavier, published about 1788; consequently it is one of the latest of the "trumpeters in the nave." In the same edition is given the "Office St. F. Xavier," by the Jesuit Oudin, equally extravagant and *Bombastes Furioso*.

precipitate, and it often happened that the new Christians returned to paganism, or did not live in a very Christian manner, for want of sufficient instructions.”¹ In the face of this we are told that “the churches comprised as many saints as there were neophytes”!

The Abbé Dubois, Catholic-missionary in Mysore, will give the next elucidation.

“One of the first missionaries,” says Dubois, “was the famous St. Francis Xavier, a Spanish Jesuit of the greatest merit, and animated with a truly Apostolical zeal, and still known under the appellation of the Apostle of India. He traversed several provinces of India, and *is said* to have made many thousand converts, at a period *when the prejudices of the natives against the Christian religion were far from reaching the height they have since attained.* The caste of fishermen at Cape Comorin, who are all Christians, still pride themselves in being the offspring of the first proselytes made by that Apostle.

“Xavier soon discovered in the manners and prejudices of the natives an insurmountable bar to the progress of Christianity among them, as appears from the printed letters still extant, which he wrote to St. Ignatius de Loyola, his superior, and the founder of the Order of the Jesuits.

“At last, Francis Xavier, *entirely disheartened* by the invincible obstacles he everywhere met in his Apostolic career, and by the apparent impossibility of making *real* converts, left the country in disgust, after a stay in it of only two or three years; and he embarked for Japan.”²

¹ Bouhours, Vie de St. Ignace, i. 106. Ignatius ordered “houses for the Catechumens,” to be established, so that the Pagans might be effectually prepared for baptism. Ibid.

² Letters on the State of Christianity in India, p. 3. The italics are mine.

It may be alleged that this very striking qualification of Xavier's Indian Apostolate, is from the pen of one who boldly asserts the impossibility of christianising the Indians. Then take the oozing out opinions of the Jesuits themselves. These opinions are not meant to disparage Xavier's labours : but to prove the necessity of Jesuit-*Brahminism* for the work of conversion. It is not killing two birds at one shot—but it is effectually winging one in his lordly flight. Xavier is the winged bird, as appears from the following : it is an extract from a letter of Father Martin, Jesuit, in 1700.

“ Of all the Apostolic men whom God has raised up in these latter times for the conversion of the Indians, we may affirm that Saint Francis Xavier has been the most powerful in works and words. He preached in the great peninsula of India *at a time when the Portuguese were in their highest reputation, and when the success of their arms gave great weight to the preaching of the gospel.* He performed nowhere else more brilliant miracles—and yet, he there converted *no considerable caste.* He himself complains in his letters of the *indocility and blindness of these people,* and points to the fact that the fathers whom he employed in their instruction found it difficult to bear among them the disgust caused by the little fruit they made there. Those who know the character and manners of these people are not surprised at this obstinacy apparently so little grounded. It is not enough for them to find religion true in itself : they look upon the channel whereby it comes to them, and cannot induce themselves to receive anything from the Europeans, whom they consider the most infamous and most abominable people on the face of the earth.

“Thus we have seen hitherto, that there are among the Indians only three sorts of persons who have embraced the Christian religion, when it was preached to them by the missionaries from Europe, recognised as Europeans. The first are those who placed themselves under the protection of the Portuguese, to avoid the tyrannical domination of the Mahometans ; such were the Paravas, or the inhabitants of the Fishing Coast [Dubois's Fishermen], who, for that object, even before St. Francis Xavier came into India, called themselves Christians, though they were only so in name ; it was to instruct them in the religion which they had embraced almost without knowing it, that this great apostle overran that southern part of India with incredible labours. Secondly, Those whom the Portuguese had subjugated on the coast by the force of arms, professed at first externally the religion of the conquerors : these were the inhabitants of Salsette and the vicinity of Goa, and other places which Portugal conquered on the western coast of the great peninsula of India ; they were forced to renounce their castes and assume the European customs, which irritated and drove them to despair. In fine, the last sort of Indians who made themselves Christians in those early times, were either persons of the very dregs of the race, or slaves whom the Portuguese bought on the lands, or persons who had lost their caste by their licentiousness or bad conduct.”¹ It is to be hoped that the extravagance of Bouhours and Feller has not utterly disgusted the reader with Francis Xavier ; for, in that case, I shall be blamed for awarding to the man all the praise he merited by intrepidity, and an earnest, though often misguided and utterly erroneous

zeal, (if the Jesuits do not belie him) in the conduct of his mission. To a very great extent Xavier is innocent of the disgraceful impostures which the Jesuits have palmed on their "religious" world, under the sanction of his name. Respecting the very possibility of converting the heathen without the terror of swords and bullets, his opinion was flatly negative—an opinion which was notoriously entertained by other Jesuits who had experienced the missions.¹ But let us hear *Xavier himself* just before "giving up" the Indians in disgust, and departing for Japan, in 1549, after *eight* years' toil and trouble. Writing to Ignatius, he says, announcing his intended departure :—

"My Father, dearly beloved in the bowels of Christ, accept these few words respecting the affairs of India. In all the parts of India where there are Christians, some of our Society remain ; namely, in Malucco, Malacca, Caulan, at Cape Comorin, Basain, and Socotora ; in which places I seem to be of little or no aid, both because there are fathers there, and because the Indians are very thick-headed in those places, and are infected with enormous vices, whence it happens that they have almost no inclination whatever to receive our faith, yea, they even detest it, and listen to us with difficulty when we talk of their receiving baptism."² This is conclusive

¹ Navarette. "Dezia el Santo que mientras no estuvieran debaxo del mosquete, no avia de aver Christiano de provecho : " "the Saint used to say, that whilst they were not under the musket, there was no possibility of having a profitable Christian." *Trat. vi. p. 436, col. 6, et apud La Croze.* At page 440, note 26, of the same work, Navarette (an orthodox Catholic) refutes the Jesuit Colin who insisted on the necessity of arms for planting the faith. "Va probando con varios exemplares y successos la necesidad que ay de armas en las conversiones."

² "Mi Pater, in visceribus Christi unice dilecte, pauca hæc de rebus Indicis accipe. In omnibus Indiæ partibus ubi Christiani sunt, aliqui ex nostrâ Societate morantur, in Malucco, Malaccâ, Caulano, Comorino promontorio, Basaino, Socotorâ. Quibus in locis parum videor posse adjumenti afferre, tum

enough, certainly ; but it is not all. Ignatius himself was far from being satisfied with "the affairs of India." There was no tinsel about this tough Spaniard. He did nothing by halves. His one idea must be thoroughly and perfectly complied with ; there was no compromise in the man, unless it keenly struck him that compromise would lead to entire possession. Xavier's affectionate epistles on "the affairs of India" did not satisfy the iron-hearted Ignatius. In the very year of Xavier's death, after all the wonderful and infinite conversions, miracles, and prodigies related by the biographers, at the very time when he is represented as gloriously successful in Japan, Ignatius wrote commanding him to send back one of his companions to Rome—his usual method of getting at the truth of matters—and, above all, "he commanded Xavier immediately to return to Europe, commanded him to return by virtue of holy obedience—not because he doubted his obedience, but in order to show how earnestly he wished him to return—in like manner as the Apostle Paul also (I am only *translating*, attentive reader)—in like manner as the Apostle Paul, when he exhorts Timotheus, his most beloved and holy, to hold fast by pure and wholesome doctrine which was nearest his heart, does not hesitate to interpose the name of God, who shall judge the quick and the dead—a mode of urgency which is not usually adopted except towards hard-hearted men."¹ Orlandinus

quòd ibi Patres degant, tum quòd magna sit Indorum hebetudo in his locis, et immanibus infecti sint sceleribus, quibus fit, ut penè nullam ad fidem nostram suscipiendam propensionem habeant, imò oderint, ac grave sit de baptismate suscipiendo quicquam nobis audire."—*Epist. Japon.* ep. i. edit. 1569.

¹ Eisdemque Xaverio literis imperabat, interposito obedientiæ nutu atque virtute, ut ocius ipse in Europam remigraret, non quòd ejus obtemperacioni diffideret ; sed ut ostenderet, quam sibi cordi esset ejus ex India reversio ; quemadmodum et Apostolus Paulus, cum ad retinendam puram, sanamque

endeavours to account for this strong obtestation by alleging the desire of the King of Portugal in the matter, and in order that Xavier might inflame the king to the Jesuit-expedition into Ethiopia, to Congo, and the conversion of Brazil, and also to give advice touching the men best adapted for India ; but what have these matters to do with the obtestation so strikingly brought forward, and urged to the missionary's heart with the ominous words, "pure and wholesome doctrine" ? And bringing to his mind that most vigorous and heartfelt chapter of the heartfullest of the Apostles, did Ignatius not allude to a former reprimand, which we remember he inflicted on Xavier for his too great precipitancy in administering the rite of baptism ? And did he not allude to the sequence of that obtestation to Timothy, mentally saying :—"Preach the word : be instant in season, out of season ; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine. For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine ; but after their own lusts shall they reap to themselves teachers, having itching ears. And they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables. But watch thou in all things, endure affliction, do the work of an evangelist, *make full proof of thy ministry.*" 2 Tim. iv. If he did not mean this conclusion, the allusion to Paul and his obtestation to Timothy are utterly without meaning, totally out of place, and, as such, contrary to the standing practice of Ignatius, who, be it ever understood, did nothing without a purpose, or in vain. And certainly Xavier's motives for leaving

doctrinam, quæ ei maxime cordi erat, Timotheum carissimum, eundemque sanctissimum adhortatur, interposito Dei nomine, qui judicaturus est vivos et mortuos, obtestari non dubitat, id quod nisi duros apud homines fieri plerumque non solet."—*Orland.* xiii. 83.

India, *as given in his letter*, did not “make full proof of his ministry.”

What remains but briefly to lay before you the state
View of India, her men, religion, morals, &c. of India, her men ; their religion, morals, and customs ; in order that you may see how truly Xavier said that he was “of little or no assistance.”

Extending in length one thousand eight hundred miles from the Himàlaya range and the mountain chains which separate the table-land of central Asia, Hindostan or India, tapering from its greatest breadth of fifteen hundred miles, penetrates the Southern Ocean like a wedge against its encroachments. Innumerable and mighty rivers give fertility to the country, and purify the natives from their sins ; for, to the Hindoos, their streams are so many sacraments of grace, sanctifying and efficient. Every climate that man, the cosmopolite, can relish or endure ; every necessary of life that he needs : every luxury and superfluity that he craves ; in a word, all nature’s most bountiful gifts on the face of the land—fruits, grain, woods, spices, and flowers ; in the bowels of the earth—gold, diamonds, and every precious gem ; in the depths of the ocean—beautiful pearls, to which the kingdom of heaven hath been likened—all hath God given to this favoured region, in his adorable bounty and wisdom. They became the source of endless unrest, bitter misery, and hideous injustice to the favoured children of nature. How many pray for such blessings ! “They know not what they ask.” Contentment in our lot constitutes the true blessing to man. From the earliest times a prey for every invader—its dynasties rising, and superseded by successful violence, religious craft and cruelty—India

was reached by the adventurous Portuguese in 1498. Vasquez de Gama landed at Calicut, on the Malabar, with three ships, and "took possession" of the country in the name of the king of Portugal. Rapidly his subjects spread conquest and blood in every direction ; and twenty-four years after the first arrival, the Portuguese commanded the trade of the Indian Archipelago. They had numerous settlements along the Malabar, especially at Goa and Diu, and monopolised the commerce with Europe. The Mahometan hordes were their chief opponents in the conquest ; for the sons of the Prophet had mastered the children of Bramah, whom they treated with the wanton cruelty of eastern despots, and the unscrupulous extortion of fanatics. The Portuguese viceroys and governors took advantage of these "divisions" in the land, and with the most frivolous pretences, waged desperately the war of plunder, and winnowed the islands and broad stripes of the continent into the pale of Portugal. This was the result about the time when Xavier landed in India. The arms of Portugal were terrible, if not completely triumphant. The war was destined to be prolonged ; for the Mahometans craved assistance from Constantinople ; and Venice, the Christian republic, jealous of Portugal's increasing commerce, seconded the appeal of the Turks—so unconscionable is the lust of gold—and induced Solyman, the Grand Turk, to equip and dispatch a powerful armament to the Indian Ocean.¹

We must permit a Jesuit to describe the men of India, as Xavier found them, and converted them by millions. According to this account, and most others,

¹ See Dunham, iii. 298, *et seq.* ; Hist. of Spain and Port. (Lib. of Ent. Knowl.) p. 106 ; Maffeus, Hist. Indiæ, f. 310 ; Pereira, Polit. Indiana, lib. i.

the people were little better than brute beasts,—given to all manner of enormities. The least guilty of them seemed to be those who had no religion at all —no God—*che non havevano nè religione, nè Dio*. Most of them worshipped the devil under an indecent form, and with ceremonies the most indescribable and disgusting. Some changed their gods every day : whatever they first met in the morning, a dog, a pig, or a serpent, continued their divinity for the day. Very little encumbered by dress, in that burning clime, their licentiousness was extreme. In many places, not only polygamy was prevalent, but women were held in common, or many men had but one wife among them. Their priests were more exclusive in the matter, but equally depraved, enjoying a privilege, or feudal service, granted to the nobles of France in the days of orthodox legitimacy.¹ I cannot proceed with Bartoli's minute and revolting descriptions ; those who are curious in the matter, must refer to the Jesuit's history.² The peculiar customs, civil and religious, of the Hindoos demand attention. *They prevail to the present day.*

Some were so superstitious that they believed themselves defiled if any one touched them, except in battle ; and to purify themselves from such defilements, they abstained from food until they had thrice plunged in a river. Others would eat only what they cooked themselves, or was prepared by the Brahmins, their priests, who, like all other priests, knew how to make themselves necessary to their dupes. The cow was the object of their peculiar veneration. Those who

¹ See Young's *Travels in France*, i. 206, or Alison, *Hist. of Europe*, i. 172, the note, and the fourth "feudal service" enumerated.

² Dell' Asia, f. 31.

maintained the transmigration of souls believed that only souls of the rarest probity enjoyed after death the privilege of passing into the body of a cow. Women threw themselves on the burning piles of their deceased husbands, according to the rules laid down by their priests and rulers, who had an "interest" in the thing. This was a hard lot for viduate devotedness: but the women of India brought it on themselves. As elsewhere, there had been a practice in vogue for women to poison their husbands in order to marry again: so a certain king made the aforesaid law to stay the enormity, which it did, and might do anywhere else, in the absence of better regulations. The custom began as a check to crime: it became, in time, a point of honour and religion,—like many other things which we venerate despite their bad beginnings. Famines occur amongst civilised nations with their endless resources; and they occurred in half-savage or semi-barbarous India. On those occasions, reduced to despair by ravening hunger, men sold themselves for a morsel of bread, mothers bartered their children for a bag of rice, and some desperate father would sell wife and children for fifty rupees. As in civilised countries, the belief in ghosts and hobgoblins was general in India. Against the visitations of these, the poor heathens had amulets and talismans, just as we have holy-water and horse-shoes:—on this propensity, at least, a Jesuit apostle might build extensively.

But the most important peculiarities of the Hindoos must now be considered. Amongst the very feelings of men, amongst their inclinations, and mental faculties, there is a difference of rank estab-
The Castes.
lished and acknowledged—from the lowest to the highest—a distinct gradation, of which each individual, who

reflects, is conscious. This is in accordance with prevalent opinions, or the peculiar intellectual, social, and moral economy in which we are placed : but that resultant is certainly the source whence men have established, or permitted, the different ranks of society. From the very nature of man, as above suggested, any and every society of men collected together, will soon divide itself into ranks, low, high, higher, and highest, according to a set of ideas adapted to the circumstances of the same society : but the ranks of India are the most extraordinary divisions of human nature that can possibly be conceived. These divisions are known by a barbarous corruption of the Portuguese word for race or rank—*casta*, dwindled into *caste*. The Hindoos are divided into various castes such as, the Brahmins, the Rajpoots, the Benjans, the Yogeas, the Soudras, Vertreas, Ketris, and Faquirs. The *Brahmins* are exclusively the servants of the gods : temples and idols are their patrimony. They hold that there is one supreme God, creator of the universe, and that he engendered three sons, who form but one divinity. To express this number and the unity of nature, they wear a scarf divided into three cords or pendants. His name is *Parabrahma*, with four other names added to it, expressive of almighty, infinite, eternal, incomprehensible, and self-existent Being. The three Gods resulted through the instrumentality of *Aadicumari*, or the first Maid or Virgin ; and their names are Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. The first creates, the second preserves, and the third destroys ;—and they are the symbols of the earth, water, and fire. Innumerable other symbols or gods there are, or genii—in the skies, in the air, in rain, in fire : the god of pleasure, blinding reason ; the genius

of the sea, ponds, lakes, and rivers ; the divinity who presides over buried treasures, pits, and caves, where riches are concealed ; a god-inspector of the arts mechanical and manual labour ; god-musicians in the heavens ; malignant sprites delighting in mischief, and detested by the other gods—whose name, *Rakshasa*, the Brahmins gave to the Europeans ; a god of the dead, or the angel of death—in fine, there are spectres, and wicked demons, and nymphs without number, good, bad, and indifferent, ever on the wing, inflicting evil or doing good ; and therefore often propitiated by an invitation to eat in their houses. In vast repute were the promulgators of India's religion, the Brahmins. Divine by their descent, they were holy by profession, and omnipotent by prescription :—almost, if not completely, worshipped by the people, whose opinions and customs they defended and encouraged for the continuance of their own prosperity. The *Rajpoots* were the race of cavalry soldiers ; the *Ketris* were the merchants ; the *Benjans* were bankers, and have been compared to the Jews in pecuniary skill and dexterity. These Benjans expiate their sins twice a day by bathing. The *Yogees* are pilgrims or religious vagabonds, wandering from place to place, from kingdom to kingdom, great lovers of solitude and unfrequented places, and are always in the odour of sanctity on account of the great austerities they practise, passing several days without food or drink ;—but pronounced to be great impostors by those who were acquainted with many a monkish saint, who did likewise. The *Soudras* are infantry soldiers. The *Verteas* are the religious men, the monks of Hindooism. They live in community, and are such observers of poverty that they eat only the remnants from the tables of the

charitable ; they have so great a horror of eating anything which has had life, that they drink water hot or when it has boiled, supposing water to have a soul, and believing that they would swallow that soul if not forced away by the fire. In the same intention, they carry always a small broom, with which they brush their path, lest they should trample on a worm. They vow chastity. The *Faquirs* are another order of Hindoo monks who, during the whole course of their lives, subject themselves to the severest privations or "mortifications." They seldom, if ever, sleep on the ground, or at full length : but mostly on a thick cord suspended in the air and passed betwixt the legs. Some keep their arms always elevated above the head : others pass nine or ten days every month without eating.

The most striking fact yet to be recorded is, that, "extravagant as many of these modes and customs are, they never draw down from castes of the most opposite habits and fashions, the least appearance of contempt and ridicule. Upon this point there is, throughout the whole of India, the most perfect *toleration*, as long as the general and universally respected laws of good behaviour are not infringed." "With this exception every tribe," says the Abbé Dubois, a missionary,— "with this exception every tribe may freely and without molestation follow its own domestic course, and practise all its peculiar rites." And yet, seeing how evidently all their passions, all their feelings, are invested in their particular systems, is it not wonderful that "persecution" is wanting to give them completeness ?

The castes of India do not intermarry. A wall of separation is between each. Misconduct is visited with expulsion, and then the culprit becomes a Pariah.

Exempt from all the restrictions of honour and shame which so strongly influence the other castes, the Pariahs can freely and without reserve abandon themselves to their natural propensities. They are the most numerous "caste" in India—the professional bad-livers of Hindooism, accursed of Gods and men. "It follows, therefore, that this division of castes acts as a check on human depravity." "I am no less convinced," adds Dubois, "that the Hindus, if they were not restrained within the bounds of decorum and subordination by means of the castes, which assign to every man his employment, by regulations of police suited to each individual,—but were left without any curb to check them, or any motive for applying one, would soon become what the Pariahs are, or worse; and the whole nation, sinking of course into the most fearful anarchy, India, from the most *polished of all countries*," says the missionary, "would become the most barbarous of any upon earth."¹ We have now to see how Francis Xavier undertook to break down the religion of India and its systems, and to build up the religion of Rome on the ruins. It is pretended that St. Thomas the Apostle preached the Gospel in India; and Maffeus, the Jesuit, tells us that he built a church at Meliappoor, raised a dead boy to life, preached to the Chinese, performed many miracles, built a cross of stone, and prophesied that white men would come one day from the remotest regions, to *restore* the same faith which he was then introducing.² The monks had failed

¹ See Description, &c. of India; Moreri, Dict. t. vi.; and all the works on India quoted in a former section of the present work, p. 207 *et seq.*; also, Bartolomeo's *Voyage* and *Systema Brahminicum*. Dubois' chapter on the advantages of the castes is well worth reading.

² *Ibidemque defixâ lapideâ cruce, vaticinatus est, cum ad eum lapidem usque pertingeret pelagus: tum Divino jussu, è remotissimis terris candidos homines*

in their mission : the prophecy was intended for the Jesuits : Xavier had the honour of taking the lead. Draw the curtain—*et ecce Crispinus*—the “Apostle of the Indies” appears.

Instantly, on the very outset of his mission, Xavier imitates Father Ignatius in his questionable method of doing “good.” The missionary, wisely enough, considered it proper to begin with reforming the Christians of Portugal in India, before meddling with the children of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. Xavier visited the Portuguese—stood in the midst of their harems—caressed their children—asked to see their mother—and had her pointed out to his critical eyes. When she happened to be whitish and well made, he would praise her, and tell her she seemed to be a Portuguese ; then, privately, he would say to her master : “You have here a fine slave, and one who deserves to be your wife.” But if she happened to be a black and ugly Indian—for colonial tastes are notoriously indifferent—he would say, “Good God ! what a monster you have in your house ! And how can you bear the sight of her ?” These words, uttered seemingly without design, generally took effect : the master married the woman whom the servant of God had praised—and drove out the others.¹ A very curious mode of arriving at the result, if in no respect objectionable : but we may be permitted to believe that if Xavier applied no stronger measures of reform, the harems of

ad eadem quæ ipse intulisset, sacra instauranda venturos.—*Hist. Indic.* f. 37. In the Jesuit Kircher's *Chine Illustrée*, there is a picture of this cross. Maffei also tells us that St. Thomas's remains were found by the Portuguese at Meliampoora, and sent to Goa.—*Ibid.* f. 158. All this is of course treated as a fable by the Catholic Moreri, *Dict.* vi. 323, a.

¹ Bouhours, Xavier, i. p. 56.

the colonies were not depopulated by the discriminating taste of "the servant of God."

He set forth with *interpreters* to preach Christ to the worshippers of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. It was amongst the *Fishermen* at Cape Comorin.

They turned a bewildered ear to his incomprehensible interpretations : he treated them to a miracle. He found out a woman in labour ; read a portion of the Gospel over her head, baptised her, she was delivered, perfectly cured.¹ Thenceforward he became the physician of the Pagans. As soon as any one fell ill, Father Xavier was called in, baptised, and cured them : but as he could not satisfy all demands in person, he delegated his miraculous powers to a troop of children : they did as well as the apostle : "they touched the patient with their beads or the father's crucifix, and immediately he was cured."² We are not told the exact number of his converts for the first year ; but we are assured that they were "almost infinite."³

His first
miracle and
converts.

The missionary's method was very simple, when there was no necessity for a miracle. It must be borne in mind that he went first among the musket-Christians of the Portuguese converts. "When

His method.

I first came to this coast," says Xavier himself, "my first care was to ask them if they had any knowledge of Christ our Lord ? Then, if they knew the articles of faith ? Thirdly, What they believed ? or what more they had, after being initiated in our faith, than before, when they were gentiles ? All their answer was that they were Christians ; but that, not understanding our language, they were ignorant of our law, and what was to be believed." Hence it is evident, that these poor

¹ Bouhours, Xavier, 59.

² Id. ib. 64.

³ "Presque à l'infini."—Id. ib. 75.

wretches had been baptised, or announced themselves Christians, as the Jesuit Martin admitted, without even understanding the language of their "converters"! The dread of the musket was their missionary. Xavier proceeds: "Wherefore, as we did not understand each other sufficiently, since they spoke the Malabar lingo, and I the Celtiberic or Vaziquenza [the Spanish of Biscay], I collected together the cleverest of them, whom I knew to understand both languages. After spending many days together, at last, with great labour, they transfused into the language of the people certain pious prayers—the sign of the cross, the declaration of the Trinity, the Apostle's Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Angelical Salutation, the Salve Regina, and the Confiteor."¹ Xavier actually employed these pagans to translate these prayers and formulas out of bad Spanish into a language wherein the most skilful minds would find it difficult to escape nonsense and avoid absurdity, in expressing things and ideas totally without representatives in that vernacular. Meanwhile, in the face of Xavier's own admissions, Bouhours boldly says that *Xavier* translated the prayers, &c., into the language of the Paravas!² "These things being thus given in their language," continues Xavier, "and having well *committed them to memory—altius meâ in memoriâ fixis*—I went about the whole city, and collected, with the sound of a bell, all the boys and men I could, promiscuously. I gave them four hours a day, two in the morning, two

¹ "Tandem magno labore in linguam gentis illius nonnullas easque pias transfuderunt orationes."—*Epist. Ind.* p. 2, *et seq.* Ed. Louan, 1566.

² "Il les *consulta*," says the Jesuit, "plusieurs jours de suite, les uns et les autres; et, à force de travail, il *traduisit* en langue des Paravas," &c., p. 60; but, in the very next paragraph, he says that Xavier "got by heart what he could," "apprit par cœur ce qu'il pût!"

in the evening ; and so, in one month, they learned the prayers, which I taught them on this condition, that the boys should teach their parents, and all of them their domestics, what they learned from me.”¹ Xavier repeated *his* lesson, and the pupils did the same after him. “ After which, I repeated the Creed, and separating each article from the rest, giving proper time for explanation [by an *interpreter*, it is to be presumed], I admonished them that to be a Christian was nothing but to believe the twelve articles with a firm and immovable faith. When, therefore, they professed themselves Christians, I asked them if they clung with unshaken faith to the twelve articles of belief ? All of them, men, women, old men and boys, striking their breasts, or making the sign of the cross, answered with a loud voice, ‘ We believe.’ ” He then enjoined them to repeat the Creed to themselves oftener than the prayers. Then he proceeded to the Commandments. He states that both the Christians and the pagans were in great admiration when they beheld the consummate equity of the divine law, and its concordance with natural reason—*cum ratione naturali parem symphoniam*. The Lord’s Prayer and the Hail Mary ensued. The Creed was repeated twelve times, and ten times the Ten Commandments. “ First, I declare the article of faith ; then they, in their own language, say with me : ‘ Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, give us grace to believe the first article of faith, sincerely and without doubt. We beseech thee to give us that faith by the Lord’s Prayer.’ Then we all say together : ‘ Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, obtain for us from thy Son the grace to believe this article sincerely and without doubt.’ Thereupon we repeat the Hail Mary.

¹ Epist. Ind. 3 and 4.

This is the method with the remaining eleven articles." A similar process is applied to the Ten Commandments, with the addition of the Lord's Prayer, and another supplication to the Virgin adapted to the different object in view, concluding with the Hail Mary. "These are the things which they are taught to ask of God ; and I tell them that should He accord these to their prayers, He will give more than they can hope for or desire. I make them all repeat the Confiteor, particularly those who wish to be baptised. These last, after they have repeated the Creed, and affirm that they believe each article, and have repeated the Commandments, promising to obey them with God's assistance, I baptise, as sufficiently tried—*tanquam satis exploratos, baptizo*." ¹ A very expeditious mode of making a Christian out of a son of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, and the ten thousand other gods, with all their social habits inextricably woven into that endless system of gods and genii, devils and sprites, nymphs and hobgoblins. And still more precipitate was the rite if the missionary had to do with Pariahs, who sin by profession. Evidently the same idea occurred to the Jesuit Bouhours ; for he takes very significant liberties with Xavier's text, as above, which he thus interpolates :—"I make them say the Confiteor, and principally those who are to receive baptism, who, at my bidding, repeat the Creed. *At each article I ask them if they believe without doubting at all ; and when they assure me of the fact, I generally make them an exhortation, which I have composed in their language : it is an abridgment of the doctrines of Christianity, and of the duties of a*

¹ "Quos postquam symbolum pronuntiârunt, et unumquemque se credere affirmant, legis etiam mandata memorârunt : eaque se servaturos Deo juvante, receperunt : *tanquam satis exploratos, baptizo*."—*Epist. Ind.* p. 7.

Christian necessary to salvation: at length I baptize them.”¹ Xavier wrote nothing of the sort, *did* nothing of the sort, or Ignatius would not have urged upon him, as we have read, the necessity for more circumspection in admitting the pagans to baptism. Let the above Jesuit-dexterity be a sample of what an extensive reader of their books and histories finds to make him rather more than sceptical as to Jesuit-veracity and honesty.

It was the young that Xavier seems to have chiefly enlisted into his service,—which aggravates the questionable method of “conversion.” He says that they were very eager for the faith, and fails not to state that these young converts frequently broke out into the most atrocious abuse against the heathens—*sæpe verbis adversus ethnicos atrocissimis digladiantur*. “What,” says the missionary, “is my hope and confidence, of the mercy of God I doubt not but that these youths will become better than their parents. For if they see their parents taking any steps to return to the ancient worship of the idols, they not only sharply rebuke them, but even bring them to me, for the love of their salvation. In fact, matters have

His method
with relapsees
into idolatry.

¹ “A chaque article je les interroge s'ils croient sans doubter aucunement ; et quand ils m'en assurent, je leur fais, d'ordinaire, une exhortation que j'ai composée en leur langue ; c'est un abrégé des dogmes du Christianisme et des devoirs du Chrétien nécessaires au salut ; enfin je les baptise,” p. 62. Bartoli gave Bouhours the hint ; but the former has thrown the letter in the form of a narrative, and so avoids the dishonesty of putting words which he never thought of into the missionary's mouth.—See *Dell' Asia*, l. 37. To the above passage this Bouhours adds as follows : “It is evident, from what we first said touching the instruction of the Paravas, that Xavier had not the gift of tongues when he began to instruct them ; but it appears also, that after he had made that translation, which cost him so much, he understood and spoke the Malabar language—whether he acquired the knowledge by his labour, or that God gave him the knowledge of it in a supernatural manner” ! p. 62. Is this not too much ! Even for a Jesuit !

taken such a turn, that, through fear of the boys, none of the citizens can dare to sacrifice to the idols in the city. For without the city should any one secretly follow the worship of the idols, they search all the hiding-places suspected by the diligence of the Christians, and whoever is caught they bring to me. For this evil, my remedy is no other than the following :— I collect a great number of boys, and send them at the thing in hand, *in rem præsentem mittam*, where idolatry seems to be renewed. These boys, in the singular and pious zeal which they exhibit towards the faith, heap more abuse upon the devil than their parents had lavished veneration upon him. They pull down the idols and throw them over a precipice, or into the fire. And they play other pranks, which, although it be not proper to relate, still are an honour to the boys, namely, so to play the fool with the god which impelled their parents to such a pitch of madness, as to have and to venerate for God, stones and rocks.”¹ There is much in this to disgust us with Xavier’s method. It would have been much more to the purpose to prevent the relapse into idolatry by more instruction : at all events, the present method only gave “the boys” an opportunity for “playing other pranks,” without being better Christians for their pains : they demolished idols without abolishing idolatry : they dishonoured their parents without honouring God.

In the very same letter, Xavier lays claim to miraculous powers, stating how crowds thronged around and oppressed him with invitations to their houses, to cure the sick by the imposition of hands. It was then that,

¹ “Aliaque designant, quæ quanquam non sit honestum recensere, pueris tamen est honori, ita illudere ei,” &c.—*Epist Ind.* p. 6.

finding himself, as he states, unequal to the numerous labours so delightfully vouchsafed to him, he instituted the troop of boy miracle-workers before mentioned.¹ It was then that he thought of the academies of Europe and their numerous inmates, pale with the avarice of science—*avaritiâ scientiarum duntaxat pallentes*, as he forcibly expresses it, wishing that they would come to the vineyard of India. Why do they not exclaim, Lord, here am I, what wouldst thou have me do? Send me whithersoever thou wishest, even to the barbarous Indian nation separated from all the world.

He rebukes
ambitious
churchmen.

“But I fear,” says he, sarcastically, “I fear that many who apply to their studies in the academies, count on the dignities and episcopal revenues that may result from them, rather than have the intention of doing what dignitaries and bishops ought to do. Everybody says: I wish to apply to study, that I may become a priest, or attain some church dignity. When this is attained, I’ll live for God afterwards—*quâ partâ, postea Deo vivam*. Brute-men—*homines animales* (!) who blindly follow their appetites—on this account more stupid than a blackamoor: because, neither attending to their own or others’ affairs, they forget the will of God If the first-rate theologians in the Academies of Europe only knew the incredible richness of the harvest here, and the deplorable lack of labourers, I doubt not to affirm that they would either send hither those who are not needed at home, or would seek out with all care and solicitude men of tried probity and learning, for this

¹ Ibid. But Bouhours and the rest have added the “beads” and “crucifix” by way of a more efficient instrument. Xavier only says *per fidem*, or that they did cure diseases of body and mind.

enterprise. In truth, the Christian faith would be embraced by the innumerable souls of myriads who must now perish eternally through our slothfulness and their own sin of infidelity. So great is the multitude of those who here embrace the faith, that often, whilst baptising, my arms, as it were enervated by labour, are fatigued, and I almost lose my voice by hoarseness whilst I rehearse the Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments, and other prayers, translated into their language, whilst I explain to them the meaning of the word *Christian*, whilst I speak of paradise, of hell—the condition of those who go to the latter place, and the happy lot of those who depart to the former. I am frequently engaged in inculcating the Creed, and the Commandments of God. It sometimes happens that on the same day I baptise a whole city, *eddem die civitatem integram baptizem*. Much of this success is to be attributed to the Viceroy of India, both because he is a particular friend and patron of our Society, and spares no expense, or rather takes upon himself, as far as he can, all the labours for the propagation of the faith. By his endeavours, we have now thirty cities of Christians on this coast. So keenly does that hero hunger and thirst for the conversion of all the infidel nations, that he has lately given four thousand pieces of gold to those who with all diligence profess the truth in the cities of the Christians.”¹ If the reader has attentively read the preceding pages, touching the method adopted by the viceroys to ensure the possession of India, this passage, otherwise so striking, will suggest the whole gist of the argument, as it bears against the “apostolate” of the Jesuit. One more extract is necessary to give an idea

¹ Epist. Ind. 11—13.

of the man—the finishing touch to his portrait, drawn by himself. He says : “ I will add one word more, namely, that the comforts and joys of those who evangelise these nations are so great, that words cannot easily express them. There is even one amongst us [meaning himself] who is not unfrequently filled by God with such delights that he often bursts forth into these exclamations : ‘ O Lord, do not give me so many comforts in this life ; or if, through thy inexhaustible bounty and mercy, thou wilt give them, take me hence to thy glory. For it is too irksome to live afar from thy presence when thou pourest thyself so benignly into creatures.’ ”¹ . . . And finally, praying that all the brethren of the Society so dispersed all over the world, might be hereafter united in glory above, he thus concludes his letter. “ That I may obtain this wish, I call to my aid all the holy souls of this country, which being baptised by me, in their innocence have flown from this valley of miseries to heavenly glory, in number more than one thousand. I pray to all these holy souls that they may obtain us the grace whereby, during the whole time of this exile, we may know the most holy will of God, and being known fulfil it with all our might.”² I rather leave it to the

Portrait of
Xavier,
drawn by
himself.

¹ “ Versatur etiam inter nos quidam, qui haud infrequenter à Deo eâ perfunditur voluptate, ut in has sæpè prorumpat voces : O Domine, ne tot mihi in hac vitâ largiaris solatia ; aut si per tuam inexhaustam bonitatem et misericordiam ea dare vis, tolle me hinc ad tuam gloriam. Nam nimia est anxietas, ubi tam benignè creaturis te infuderis, tam procul à tuo conspectu vivere.”—*Epist. Ind.* 23.

² “ Quod ut obtineam, in auxilium voco animas omnes sanctas hujus regionis, quæ per me baptizatz in suâ innocentia ex hac miseriarum valle ad gloriam evolârunt cælestem, numero plures quam 1000. Has omnes sanctas animas oro, ut nobis gratiam concilient, per quam toto hujus exilii tempore Dei sanctissimam voluntatem intelligamus, intellectamque totis viribus impleamus. Ex Cochim 15 Januarii, Anno 1544, Vester in Christo charissimus Frater, Franciscus Xavier.”—*Id.* 26.

reader to form his opinion on this last feature in Xavier's character. It is certainly only fair that he should have his claim allowed on the saints he dispatched to glory, as he says ; but he *should* have waited until they were canonised at Rome, with miracles attested. Xavier's letters invariably portray an ardent, enthusiastic man, devoted to his calling, and pursuing it with inextinguishable ardour, or blind determination—eager to make “holy souls” by the thousand—never so delighted as when his arm sank enervated by baptising his myriads and whole cities in one day—and falling or rising into one of these raptures which we have just read, and which must be familiar to all who have sunk below, or soared above, the beaten track of common Christians.¹ But, although constantly disposed to form the best opinion of the *man*, we are perpetually disgusted with the *saint*, as the magicians of Jesuitism conjure up portents and prodigies in his career, to manufacture an apostle. Let us join them for a while, and unterrified by blue lights and red eyes, rush, with *this* spirit of a saint, through his brilliant scenes of a magic-lantern, even to the end of the Jesuit's performance.

From Cape Comorin the Saint advanced to Travancor, giving expanse to his splendid enterprise. In a very short time, forty-five churches were built, and the whole coast became Christian—having baptised, as he writes himself, ten thousand idolaters in one month—about four hundred a-day.

In the midst of this splendid success, it was, that his tongue was untied : he received the “gift of tongues”

¹ See Bishop Lavington's “Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared,” sec. xxi., p. 33, for numerous instances of the thing above alluded to. Or, if I be allowed to appeal to my own experience, see “The Novitiate,” pp. 136, & seq. and 224, 2nd Edit.

—spoke the language of the barbarians without having learnt it, and used it as a thunderbolt to strike down the enemy of his people. The bandits of Bisnagor poured down upon the plains of Travancor. The king of the country went forth with an armed band to meet them : —it was unnecessary. Xavier fell upon his knees,—and then he rose, and advanced, crucifix in hand, upon the coming foe. “In the name of the living God,” he cried, with a voice of thunder, “I forbid you to advance—I command you to return!” Terror-stricken, back rolled the barbaric host—rank upon rank scattering dismay—for behold ! there stood before them the semblance of a man unknown—in black habiliments—of gigantic, supernatural stature—frightful aspect, whose eyes shot lightnings. All fled in disorder.¹

Being thus embarked in the career of miracles, Xavier did not grudge his powers : he cured all sorts of diseases and raised four dead bodies to life again—two men and two women. “An infinity of Christians” entered the fold of baptism in the face of these portents : but the king of Travancor seems to have had his doubts about the matter—he held out for Brahma, though he was wise enough to let his people do as they liked with their conscience,—perhaps he thought that Xavier’s black art might serve him in another turn with the bandits.

Xavier went on preaching—but the waters of baptism remained stagnant : his eloquence was in vain : he resolved another miracle.

Turning to his audience with the air of inspiration, he exclaimed : “Well ! since you do not believe me on my word, come and see what can make me credible.

¹ Cretineau, i. 211.

What testimony would you have of the truths I proclaim to you?" He remembers that they had buried a man the day before: then, resuming his address in the same tone, he said; "Open the grave which you closed yesterday, and take out the body: but see that he who was buried yesterday, is really dead." His command was obeyed: the fact was certain,—the corpse was decaying. They place it at his feet: the barbarians fix wondering eyes on the thaumaturg. He kneels—prays but an instant—then speaks the word: "I command thee by the name of the living God, arise in proof of the religion I preach." At the words, the putrefying dead man rose, not only full of life, but healthy and vigorous. All cried, "a miracle!" and were baptised on the spot.¹

"Have confidence in Mary," said he once to a merchant going on a voyage, "and these beads will not be useless to you:" Xavier gave the man his chaplet. In the gulf between Meliapoora and Malacca, a furious tempest suddenly raged: sails and masts were shivered by the wind—the ship dashed on the rocks and foundered. The survivors made a raft: threw themselves upon it—their only hope. Scarcely did the merchant (with Xavier's chaplet) touch the raft when he was rapt in ecstasy, "feeling as though he were with Father Francis at Meliapoora." When he came to himself he was on an unknown coast, safe and sound; but his companions, where were they? Perhaps in the sharks' belly sighing for Xavier's chaplet. The Saint's protégé did not know what became of his companions!²

And a man of *death* was Xavier as well as of life. He wanted some wine for a sick man. He sent to a

¹ Bouhours, i. 86.

² Id. ib. 126—132.

Portuguese for some. The man gave it reluctantly, for he said he needed it for himself, and hoped the saint would not trouble him again. Any man might say so—you, gentle reader—for beggars are sometimes importunate—but Heaven grant you fall not in the hands of a Xavier! Inflamed with a holy indignation, he cried out: "What! does Araus think of keeping the wine for himself, and refusing it to the members of Jesus Christ? The end of his life is at hand—and after his death all his goods shall be distributed to the poor." He went and announced death to the man—and the man died—but not immediately. He sickened when Xavier left the place; and one day, in the midst of the Mass, Xavier turned to the pious ones kneeling, and he said: "Pray for Araus—he has just died at Amboyna," which was a great way off. Ten days after the fact was verified; and all came to pass as the saint predicted.¹ How terrible in his anger is a saint enraged! Beware how you refuse anything to a Jesuit-father—your customer may be a Father Francis. That's the Jesuit-moral of the tale.

And a man of *war* was Francis Xavier. With astonishing energy and perseverance he organised a fleet to give battle to the barbarians: miraculous predictions and interpositions attended. The Portuguese boarded the barbaric fleet, gained the victory, slaughtered the crews, six men excepted, who were put to the torture. Two died in the torments; two were thrown alive into the sea; and two turned "king's evidence," and gave the requisite information as to their countrymen's

¹ "When Calanus, the Indian philosopher, mounted the pile, he said to Alexander, 'I shall meet you again in a very short time.' Alexander died three months after."—*Lempriere*.

position, deeds, and designs. A dreadful battle ensued : the Mahometans fought with their usual desperation : but of what avail in the unequal fight ? They were routed and massacred : five hundred of Islam nobility—the Orobalons, or chosen band of Achen—were slaughtered or drowned in the river, with all the Janissaries. A glorious victory for the man of God, who had promised the “Christians” victory, enjoining them “*to behold Jesus Christ crucified before their eyes, during the battle!*”¹ Such was the wrath of Xavier the Jesuit, in the matter of Alaradin, the king of Achen.

The saint was at Malacca, far away from the field of battle : and he happened to be in the midst of his sermon to a multitudinous congregation. In spirit suddenly rapt, he beheld the map of battle, blood-traced, before him : his head drooped awhile : then he rose exulting, as he cried, “Jesus Christ has conquered for us—the enemy is routed—with very great slaughter—you shall hear the news next Friday—our fleet will soon return.”² It is useless to state that it came to pass as he predicted. Apollonius of Tyana ! venerable shade ! art thou not indignant,—or, rather, feelest thou not ashamed that a Christian should imitate thy craft or magic art ?³

And ye, dread witches and wizards of old, if your haggard souls still linger on the earth ye have cursed and befouled with incantations hideous as the king ye

¹ Bouhours, i. 155—170.

² Id. i. 170, *et seq.*

³ “Being one day haranguing the populace at Ephesus, Apollonius, the famous magician of old, suddenly exclaimed : ‘Strike the tyrant, strike him ! The blow is given ; he is wounded and fallen !’ At that very instant the Emperor Domitian had been stabbed at Rome.”—*Lempriere*. It might easily be shown that all Jesuit-fictions of miracles and piety are founded on classic facts and legends of hagiology. The Jesuits were resolved to make up for time.

served — revengeful, spiteful gorgons ! arise, and be justified—a *saint* owns you for his model. For we read that “a man impelled by rage or animated by the Bonzas, denounced the saint with fierce maledictions ; the saint bore all patiently, as usual, and only said, with an air somewhat sad, to the man who abused him : ‘May God preserve your mouth!’ Instantly the wretched man felt his tongue eaten up by a cancer, and there streamed from his mouth matter and worms with a horrible stench.”¹

If he thus effectually stopped the tongues of others, he gave to his own the speech of ten : for “he could by a *single* expression, answer ten different questions, put by as many inquirers,—and this not on one occasion, but very frequently.”² Chinese he spoke without having learnt it, and he twanged Japanese as glibly as a native.

He turned salt water into fresh—and gave it miraculous power to cure, “for it was only necessary to put two or three drops of it into any drink, in order to recover one’s health.” It was during a voyage : but a more wonderful thing than that was to come to pass. A child of five years fell into the sea, and we may add (though not so stated) that he was drowned. The father of the child grieved bitterly then ; and, as the miracle of the water had not converted the Mahometan, Xavier asked him if he would promise to believe, should his son be restored ? The infidel promised. Three days after the child was seen on the deck. Six days had he tarried in the deep rolling wave, ’mid insatiate sharks of that tropical sea—yet he waited unharmed in the crystal caverns thereof, for the saint’s command,—and when he appeared he knew not whence he came, nor how he came,³ like

¹ Bouhours, tom. ii. 13.

² Id. ii. 32.

³ Id. ii. 128.

Berthalda in De la Motte's most beautiful "Undine," the fisherman's child, by the malignant Kühleborn snatched or enticed from a fond mother's arm.¹

And gigantic seemed Xavier, like Kühleborn, when he baptised the harvest of this thrilling portent—for "though he touched the deck with his feet, yet did he overtop, by the head entire, the tallest in the ship, as he poured the sacred waters on their brows."² Thus he answered the Divine question—and *did* "add one cubit unto his stature."! Matt. vi. 27.

All nature was subject unto him; but the arms of the devils were permitted to cripple him: "One night, as the saint was praying before the image of the Virgin, the devils attacked him in crowds, and belaboured him so roughly, that he remained half dead with the blows, and was forced to keep to his bed for some days after." There can be no doubt about this, for a young Malabarese, who slept near the church, was roused by the noise, and distinctly heard the blows, whilst Xavier cried for succour to the Virgin: nay, more, the young convert sometimes would quiz the saint on the subject!³

And thou, universal demon, limping on three legs, impure Asmodeus!⁴ What hadst thou in Father Francis? "One night, Simon Rodriguez awoke, and saw Xavier, who was sleeping at the foot of his bed, fling out his arms in a dream, like a man who violently repels some one importunately advancing: he even saw blood gushing abundantly from Xavier's mouth and

¹ See "Undine," by De la Motte Fouqué.

² Bouhours, ii. 129.

³ "Les redisait quelquefois à Xavier, par une espèce de *moquerie innocente*."
—*Id.* i. 108.

⁴ Le Sage's "Diable Boiteux," with two natural legs, and one of wood. The conceit is full of meaning.

nose." Reader, canst thou opine the cause, physiological, moral, or metaphysical? If thou canst not guess, Xavier will tell thee: "Know, then, Brother Simon, that God, by a wonderful mercy, hath, till now, done me the grace of preserving me in perfect purity, and that, on the night in question, I dreamt that, being in a tavern, an immodest girl approached me. That motion of my arms was to repel and get rid of her, and the blood I threw up was caused by the effort I made."¹

I believe St. Chrysostom describes a virgin as "breathing fire,"—and there is or was a notion that a lion would never mangle a virgin: but even fierce *tigers* slunk off at the sight of Xavier. St. Patrick, with his toads and serpents must now "pale his ineffectual fires." The island of Sancian was infested with tigers. "One night the servant of God went forth to meet them, and espying them near, he threw holy water upon them, and ordered them to go away, and never to appear again. The whole troop took to flight, and since then tigers have not been seen in the island."² Catholics may be found who believe this, just as there are Hindoos who ascribe a similar virtue to *their* religious men. The Hindoos affirm that even the wild beasts of the forest respect them; and when the force of their holiness is transcendental, the wild beasts come voluntarily to their hermitage, lick their hands, fondle and lie by them for hours!³ Finally, there was in the castle of Xavier, in Navarre, an old crucifix of clay; and during the last year of the saint's life, this crucifix

¹ Bouhours, ii. 202, *et seq.* Plutarch somewhere says that the proof of virtue is when we resist temptation in a dream.

² Bouhours, ii. 134.

³ See "The Hindoos," p. 66; Heber, *Narrative*, ii. 265, *et seq.*; Ward, iii. 342.

sweated blood abundantly every Friday: but ceased to sweat at his death. In fact, it had been remarked that when Xavier worked extraordinarily hard, or was in great danger, this crucifix distilled blood on all sides—"as if when the apostle was suffering for the love of Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ had suffered for him in his turn—all impassible as He is."¹ The mind of blasphemy can no farther go—in the estimation of the Protestant: but no blasphemy was intended by the inventor of this explanation. It is ever the practice of devoteeism to extol its idols even to the throne of the Eternal. Possessed with the idea whose "end" seems so good and holy, the devotee shrinks not even from lowering the Divinity to the level of his conventional notions to honour his hero, whom he believes supremely honoured by the king of Heaven. The Jesuits thought it necessary, or at least, very expedient, to have in their Society the greatest apostle that ever existed, or could possibly exist—and decidedly they have produced one—on paper at least. Meanwhile, in the present stupendous prodigy before us, they evince their *classic* associations, which, as I have before remarked, have always administered to their pious inventions. One of their numberless writers on numberless subjects, Father Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, of the Company of Jesus, wrote a very curious little work, entitled "*Curious Philosophy and Treasury of Wonders*,"² of which, more hereafter: but in chapter the fifty-seventh you will find a discussion whose title is, "Whether it is natural

¹ "Comme si, lorsque l'apôtre souffrait pour l'amour de Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ eût souffert pour lui à son tour, tout impassible qu'il est."—*Bouhours*, ii. 146, *et seq.*

² "*Curiosa Filosofia*," p. 56. This is indeed as curious a book as was ever written—a most entertaining medley of everything possible or contingent.

for statues to distil blood, to sweat, and groan ;” and he gives, from the ancients, very many instances of such facts in general, and of one in particular, when, before the battle of Actium, the statue of Marc Antony sweat blood, *vertio sangre una estatua de Marco Antonio*. He draws a distinction between natural and miraculous or superstitious sweat, and, without assigning any proof whatever, he places in the miraculous, the sweat of the Xavier-crucifix, whilst he flings amongst the superstitious all the similar sweatings recorded by Livy, Plutarch, Cicero, Ammianus, Suetonius, Dion, Valerius Maximus, as being doubtful—*son dudosos*. You perceive he does not deny them utterly : the reason is, because his object in all his Wonders of Nature is to show the reasonableness of the mysteries beyond man’s comprehension ; and if, among the many of his Church, he edges in the Xavier-crucifix, we must, perhaps, excuse the devotee in the dexterous Jesuit.

After all that you have just read in this stupendous career of the sainted apostle, you will scarcely bear to be reminded that Xavier left the scene of his miraculous labours, his sainted souls by the thousand, his saints in all his converts, his entrancing raptures—left all, in utter disgust with “the thick-headedness of the Indians and their propensity to enormous vices,” and with the conviction, expressed in as many words, that he was of little or no use to the mission !¹ And so he did. He left them, to pay an apostolic visit to the Japanese. His reasons, besides the aforesaid disgust, are so ingenuously expressed, that I am sure you will read them with comfort. “I have

Xavier goes
to Japan—its
attractions.

¹ “Quibus in locis parum videor posse adjumenti afferre . . . quod magna sit Indorum hebetudo in his locis et immanibus infecti sint sceleribus . . .” &c.—*Epist. Jap.* 1.

been informed by many," says he, "of an island, Japan, situated near China, inhabited by heathens alone, not by Mahometans, nor by Jews ; and that it contains men endowed with good morals, most inquisitive men, intelligent, eager for novelties respecting God, both natural and divine novelties concerning God. I have resolved, not without great pleasure of mind, to see that island also ; because I am of opinion, that, in this place, the fruit and edifice of the faith (the foundation being once laid) will last for many myriads of years."¹ In this last opinion Xavier was, as we shall see, most miserably too sanguine ; but, as to the character of the people, he had not been incorrectly informed. In Japan, a more intellectual, a more enthusiastic race of humanity consoled him for his disappointments in India. If any characteristic besides these mentioned by Xavier was most honourable to the Japanese, it was their universal spirit of inquiry. They were ready to listen to all who had anything to say on the matter of religion, and the most extensive toleration permitted every man to choose what religion he pleased. In such a state of public and governmental opinion, is it not surprising to read that there were only *twelve* different sects in Japan, amongst a population of about nine-and-twenty millions, without a *Bossuet* to note and celebrate contemptuously their glorious *Variations*—their respectable prerogative of being *wrong*, if they pleased, rather than *right*, to please their neighbours.

There is no doubt that the Portuguese had an eye, a longing, a watery eye on Japan. As Xavier remarked there were no *Mahometans* there to interfere with their conquests, without the chance of converting them into

¹ Epist. Jap. i.

"Christian" subjects of Portugal and slaves of her adventurers. Conquest would be less than easy, if the people could be first induced to adopt the religion of the wholesale plunderers of nations. The plan, if not concocted by the Viceroy of India, was, we may be sure, gladly countenanced by the representative of Portugal's zealous rapacity. From Alfonso de Sousa, the Viceroy whom Xavier praises so highly, to the one he left in India, there had been always the best understanding, the heartiest concurrence, between "the man of God" and the servant of the king. One of them, Dom João de Castro, died in the arms of the missionary.¹

I. Japan is a cluster of islands, left by the ocean opposite the coast of China. The cluster, taken together, look like beavers basking on the waters : Japan and her people, &c. the people were and are as industrious as those clever builders. Their country leaves them nothing to desire, in necessaries, comforts, and luxuries ; and their industry makes the most of the gifts of nature. Abject indigence is unknown : beggars are scarcely, if ever, seen : they have no human caravans, menageries, or unions. The testimony of all who have frequented these islands attest their happy lot, from the earliest times of European visitation : all agree that there are few nations who can more easily do without others than the people of Japan ; and, what is better still, they know the value of this independence. It is a mountainous country, rocky, rough, and barren by nature : but the industry, the indefatigable labours of the people, have laughed at their difficulties, and fertilised their very rocks themselves, scarcely covered with a sprinkling of earth. Admirably watering the country by rivers, lakes,

¹ Andrada, Vida de João de Castro, p. 450.

and fountains, nature assists, expands, and fructifies their labours : they have in abundance fruits of all sorts, grain, roots and legumes. Earthquakes shake them anon : volcanoes blaze overhead : but the people have got used to them ; and when this is the case, in all things, the circumstance becomes a natural condition, in which we swim or fly as the contented birds and fishes of all-wise, all-good Providence. Gold, silver, copper, tin, iron, precious stones, pearls, and coal, the great civiliser, are the abundant products of Japan. The people excel in all manner of handiwork : their name is given to the finest varnish. Beautiful and spacious roads, vast numbers of hostelrys for the wayfaring traveller, a teeming population¹ in prosperity were the first pleasant things remarked by the stranger, and then he discovered that in no country in the world was a people better disciplined, more willing to work, more accustomed to labour, more inured to subordination, than the people of Japan.² But they were vile pagans, idolaters, deists, theists, everything and anything, as they pleased, as you will presently perceive, and had to go through the ordeal of the Jesuits to be converted into saints, and then to be slaughtered in millions, by way of thinning the population ; for such a motive is quite as probable to account for the Japan "persecution" of the Christian converts as the one invented by the Jesuits, namely, *sheer hatred to Christianity*. Whithersoever the Jesuits ever went, slaughter invariably followed. It was necessary that "the men of God" should go to heaven to find a cause for the misfortune. Much-abused Providence came in

¹ "Keempfer says that he visited a village whose entire population consisted of sons, grandsons, and great-grand children, all from one man, who was still living : he adds that they were all good-looking, well made, polished, civil, and having courtly manners."—*Charlevoix, Hist. du Jap.* i. 17.

² *Id.* i.

for the blame, and a bountiful good God was represented as delighting in the blood, the horrible dread ghastly tortures of his creatures, fooled and made wretched by the infatuation or criminal perversity of their teachers.

II. Xavier himself gives us the highest character of the people. "As far as my own experience has hitherto extended," he writes to the Brethren, "the pagan people of Japan excel all other nations lately discovered in virtue and probity. They are exceedingly tractable, and very much averse to trickery." He attests their high estimation of dignity, their philosophical contentment with a little, their habitual politeness to each other, their readiness to assert the point of honour or to redress an injury, Temperate in eating, if they indulge more freely in drink, they vigorously avoid all gambling — "being persuaded that nothing is more unbecoming a man than a pursuit which renders the mind covetous and rapacious. If ever they swear, which is very seldom, they swear by the sun. Many of them can write, whereby they are more easily imbued in the rites of Christianity" adds the conclusive apostle. "Each man is content with one wife. They are naturally extremely inclined to all probity and friendliness; and being very desirous of learning, they most willingly listen to discourses concerning God, particularly when they understand what is said. I have never seen any people, either among barbarians or *Christians*," says Xavier, "so averse to thieving. Most of them follow the opinions of certain ancient philosophers of theirs: some adore the sun, others the moon. Their conscience is regulated by the dictates of right nature and the probabilities of reason.¹ I find the

Moral character of the Japanese.

¹ At least such is my interpretation of Xavier's crabbed expression: "Ut

common people much less impure, and much more obedient to right reason, than their priests, who are called Bonzas." Then follows a list of the infamous practices to which these priests were addicted: it is totally unfit for translating, or even publication in the original.¹ Thus we find that the natural disposition of the people was anything but anti-Christian. A Jesuit has not been as illiberal towards them, as the Society's latest historian, Cretineau-Joly, who says that "charity was a virtue unknown amongst these people."² By a curious coincidence, the very last word before this sentence in the page, is the name of the Jesuit *Almeida*, who tells the contrary in a pleasant and edifying adventure. "I shall add but one remark," writes Almeida, "whence you may easily judge how great is the inclination of the Japanese to humanity and religion. When fatigued by my journey, almost overcome by disease, I tarried in a certain city of the barbarians. I felt no desire for food; still, lest I should entirely succumb,—loathing their rice and putrid fish, (for such is the food of the natives) I sent some one to buy eggs. He brought me the eggs and the money also. When I asked why

quidque naturæ maximè consentaneum est, ità facillime assentiuntur, et acquiescunt, si peccati ejuspian, ratione probabili convincuntur."

¹ Epist. Jap. l. i. p. 66. Strange! that in all countries, in all times, from the beginning, the motto has been constantly, "Do as I say, and not as I do," as interpreted by the deeds of the priesthood pampered in luxury, canonically independent, and prescriptively reverend to their dupes. The description of the Bonzas, those monks of Japan, as Xavier suggests, applies equally to the monks of Christendom in the days of their glory. (See Mosheim, Ecc. Hist. ii. 8; and D'Aubig-Reform. i. c. 3.) Since then "virtue" has been at a premium, by the force of circumstances; and we hear somewhat better things of the "holy fathers."

Monkish corruptions are the grand stand of anti-Catholic writers; but they are here alluded to in no party spirit whatever. The meaning of the text is universal; a cowl is not essential to the monkery here in view.

² "La charité était une vertu inconnue dans ces contrées."—Cretineau-Joly, i. 479.

the money was returned, he said that the barbarians would not *sell* the eggs on that day because it was their sabbath (*dies festus*)—but that as they were wanted for a sick man, they made me a present of them.”¹

How many examples of the kind would be found in a Christian city of modern civilisation? And may we not see in this trait that religion is something implanted—spontaneous—evoked—promoted by the Creator; that charity disdains not the pagan heart: that unsophisticated man *will* find his brother, and bless him too: in fine, that God has nowhere left his creature a prey to unmitigated selfishness—absorbing egotism—unbridled passions. In the wilds of the savage, as in the gorgeous cities of Christendom, with all their crimes, vices, and desires, still, in all times, there have always been found “ten just men,”—except in the four doomed cities of old; and then so horrible was the fact, so contrary to nature, and nature’s God, that those cities were utterly blotted out from the map of humanity—sunk into depths unknown, over which the Dead Sea rolls and will roll for ever.

III. Besides the sun and moon, various animals were worshipped in Japan. All men who had contributed to people and civilise the country became objects of veneration after death. All who had made good laws, introduced some art or science, or a new religion, had temples and worshippers in Japan. The greater part of the aristocracy were considered atheists, and materialists: but, whatever their belief, all openly made profession of some sect or other, and failed not to comply with any of the practices it prescribed. Even the devils had their worshippers in

Religion and
sects “similar
to Christianity.”

¹ Epist. Jap. lib. iii. Alois. Almeida, 1561.

Japan : but then, they paid their respects to them in order to appease them, and to deprecate injury, not to deserve a blessing. "What is astonishing," says the Jesuit Charlevoix, "is that, in the midst of this shapeless chaos of religion, traces of Christianity were perceptible. We have scarcely a mystery, not a dogma, not even a pious practice, with which the Japanese did not seem to be acquainted."¹ In Charlevoix's extensive history of Japan you will find his assertion proved, and accounted for, with a theory based on the imitative propensities of the Japanese, together with their "love of novelties concerning God, both divine and natural"—on which Xavier built great hopes of success. He was not disappointed.

By the introduction of a convert, the apostle was most kindly received, as he states, by the magistrates of the country and all the people.

Xavier found this convert of immense use, for he became the very pattern of zeal, and made the most orthodox application of the standing method. He visited a certain native chieftain and "took with him," says Xavier, "a painting of Christ the Lord, and the most Holy Virgin Mother. The king was greatly pleased with the visit . . . and falling on his knees he adored the image with supplication, and commanded all present to do the same."²

Method of
conversion.

¹ Hist. du Japon. i. 163.

² Epist. Jap. As an instance of Jesuit trickery, take the following. Xavier simply says in this letter : "The chieftain's mother having seen the painting, admired, and was greatly pleased with it : so, a few days after Paul returned to Cangoxima, the woman sent some one to have a copy taken of it, in some manner : but there was no artist." Bouhours thus expands the passage : "He (the chieftain) had the picture taken to the queen, his mother. She was charmed with it, and prostrated herself by the same instinct, with all the ladies of her suite, to salute the Mother and the Son : but, as the Japanese women are still more curious

Indeed this convert, Paul by name, seems to have done all the work at first—he was the beginner, in fact, of Xavier's Japanese Apostolate ; for the apostle did not enjoy the gift of the Japanese tongue by inspiration ; nor did he ever pretend to anything of the sort : he was always attended by a convert native or an interpreter, until he thought himself competent in the language he had to speak. On the present occasion he distinctly acknowledges that he was *dumb*—*nos videlicet obmutescimus*—and was compelled to become a child again, to learn the elements of the language—*dumque hujus linguæ elementa percipimus, cogemur quasi repuerascere*.¹

Nor was this the only human and sensible method to which Xavier had recourse in his apostolate. When he went to the king at Amanguchi, he put on a new and elegant dress, and took expensive and curious presents,—“a clock that struck the hours, a very harmonious musical instrument, and other works of art, whose value consisted entirely in their rarity ;” and with vast pomp

than the men of Japan, she put a thousand questions about the Virgin and Jesus Christ. This gave Paul an opportunity of relating all the life of our Lord ; and this recital pleased the queen so much, that a few days after, when he returned to Cangoxima, she sent him one of her officers to have a copy of the picture she had seen. But there was no painter to do what the princess required. She asked that they would, at least, write her an abridgment of the principal points of the Christian religion, and Paul contented her therein.”—ii. p. 5. Something like the last sentence is all that is to be found of this Jesuitism in Xavier's letter: “She even asked us to write out the heads of the Christian faith. Paul applied to the task some days, and wrote much in the Japanese language.” Not one word of the flourish is to be found in the letter ! And so it is in all Jesuitism unto the sickening of the heart. The additions made to the interview with the chieftain (*regulus*) are still more Jesuitical and full of fiction.

¹ *Epist. Jap.* The Jesuits here put in a qualification, determined to make Xavier consistent with their fictions. “The Holy Ghost assisted him in an extraordinary manner on these occasions . . . and we may say that the facility with which he learnt so many languages of the barbarians, was almost equal to a permanent gift of tongues.”—*Bouhours*, ii. 6.

and circumstance he presented letters from the governor and bishop of the Indies to the king, "in which the Christian faith was much praised ;" protesting that his only motive was to preach the faith. The king liberally granted permission, by a public edict ; and even gave Xavier and his companions an old uninhabited monastery of the Bonzas.¹ It may readily be conceived that such patronage was of immense importance to the mission, and that Xavier made the most of the opportunity.

Vast was the concourse to hear the new teachers. "All proposed their doubts and disputed the points with such vehemence, that most of them were out of breath."²

Amongst such a nation Xavier could scarcely fail to be successful according to his fashion ; and in Japan he left the best monument of his fame—to endure until the imprudence or culpable conduct of his followers, united to the probable jealousy of some avaricious Dutchmen, involved the total ruin of Christianity in Japan.

Miracles, of course, he performed ; received the gift of tongues, raised a dead girl to life, and achieved other prodigies, all so similar to what we have read, that we may conclude his apostolate with the following sum total, according to the computation of the Jesuit Francis Xavier de Feller.

"What is the life of Xavier," says his name-sake Feller, "but a chain, a continual succession of prodigies? It would be the recital of his whole life to relate his miracles. Sometimes he suddenly cures diseases, and then he raises the dead to life. Sometimes he stills the tempest by touching the sea with his crucifix, and then he saves the vessel from imminent wreck, by invoking the name of God. He sees things far away,—he

Jesuit sum
total.

¹ Bouhours, ii. 28.

² Id. ii. 29.

predicts the future, he reads the secrets of hearts. His face is radiant with glory, his body is raised above the ground,—he is, at the same moment, in two countries far distant from each other. By a single answer he silences the most numerous and most dissimilar objections, his language becomes different in the ears of each hearer, his dialect is made that of all nations, and the dialects of all nations are his. Here he stops a pestilence ; there he overturns hostile armies, or stops them at once by presenting them the image of the Cross. And all this is so frequent, so common, that people are almost no longer astonished thereat, and it is a sort of prodigy when he no longer performs one. Xavier entirely abandoned himself to God, and it seems that God abandoned his power to Xavier. All the elements heard his voice, executed his commands, took the movement, took the disposition he pleased, as if he were their master, and as if God had established him the absolute arbiter of the world.”¹

Every sentence of the foregoing flourish has its facts or fact in the saint's biography. Very few of them are given in Acosta's book, published about twenty years after his death ; the miraculous mass descended at the apostle's canonisation, in 1622, by Gregory XV., when the Jesuits were rising to the pinnacle of their influence over kings, popes, and nations.

Judging from the rapidity of his locomotion, it seems to have been Xavier's object rather to sow or scatter the faith, leaving to his successors the task of watering, trimming, and nourishing unto fruit. How far this result followed will appear in the sequel.

¹ Feller, *Eloge de St. F. Xavier* — a tissue of extravagance and raving absurdity.

Xavier sped from country to country, impelled by his natural ardour and his soul's ambition. Restless, tormented by the passion of soul-conquest, his excitement in the desire to reach China, his ceaseless longing, seems to have brought on a fever—he died disappointed—the fate of all ambition. On a desert mountain in the island of Sancian, opposite the coast of Quang-tong, about three years after visiting Japan, Xavier ended the dream of his restless life. He died in sight of another kingdom which he had long promised to his spiritual ambition: the conversion of *China* was the last desire of his soul. He was spared the disappointment, for he was totally unfitted for an undertaking whose endless difficulties became evident when the Jesuits subsequently made the attempt. His age was forty-six. He stood “a little above the middle height,”¹ his constitution robust, his countenance agreeable and majestic. He had a fine complexion, broad forehead, a well-proportioned nose, blue eyes, but brilliant and piercing; his hair and beard were dark chesnut; he was grey in the last year of his life.²

Appropriately is he styled “the Alexander of the Missions:” the hero of Macedon was his prototype in rapidity and instability of conquest; and, like Alexander, he bequeathed his nominal conquests to his followers, who would battle for the spoil, and strive, with equal determination, but more questionable means, to ratify their claims.

Generously trampling on the disgust produced by his unscrupulous biographers, let us do honour to the *man*,

¹ This is contradicted by another Jesuit, evidencing the saint's mummy, still preserved at Goa: some say he was tall; others, of the middle height: but no biographer says he was *diminutive*. The reader will see the importance of this fact in the sequel.

² Bouhours, ii. 145.

though we despise the *saint*. His journeys alone, like those of the benevolent Howard, set the imputation of questionable motives at defiance ; all that he did, he did heartily, and, unfortunately, but too consistently with the blighting superstitions of the age, its most defective Christianity.

The heart and energy of Xavier needed neither Jesuit-miracles nor exaggeration to ensure this praise of posterity. A blessing, therefore, on his name, as one of the civilisers of mankind, if we may doubt some of the facts detailed in his biographies, seeming to fix on Xavier the charge of fierce blood-thirstiness, injustice, severity unchristian, in his famed apostolate. The facts are before the reader.

Setting aside the bladder-puffed exaggerations with which his life and adventures have been filled—leaving them to the romantic credulity of those whose faith is not in their own keeping—eschewing those oratorical displays, or despicable equivocations, I admire the wonderful energy of the man who braved every peril, surmounted every obstacle, endured every privation, in doing what he deemed his work, by God appointed. God alone can estimate those motives, whose roots are in Heaven—whose branches overhang all humanity—whose fruits yield us life here and hereafter.

As an “apostle,” his conquests were too rapid. What he is said to have done in ten years, has not been effected even in the three hundred years elapsed since his death, when he left the work to be recommenced. But, alas ! how many seem still to believe that the mere rite of baptism administered to the heathen, converts him into a Christian !—and a heathen too of *India*, whose mythology is inextricably interwoven with all his social

habits, pains and pleasures, life and death. Of the hundred and forty millions of India's population, there are but twelve millions of Christians ; ten millions Protestant, and two millions Catholic,¹ whereof the large majority is European.

Very shortly after the death of Xavier the instability of his Indian Apostolate was made evident. Among

his first wholesale conversions was that of the
Proofs. islanders of More, one of the Moluccas, or

rather the chief of a cluster of islands more to the eastward. Many of the inhabitants had been previously baptised ; but, at the time of his visit, Xavier found them as fierce and savage as ever. He gathered them together, sang to them the Christian doctrine in verse, and so successfully explained it to them, that "they conceived the whole perfectly." "He visited every town and hamlet ; there was not one where the *infidels*," says Bouhours, "did not plant crosses and build churches." In one town alone he converted 25,000 souls, and called the place "The Island of Divine Hope." To strengthen this divine hope of his, he would lead his disciples to the brink of the volcanoes in the island, and give them an idea of hell by a practical lecture, with the masses of burning rock shot from the crater, the flames and pitchy smoke blackening the face of day, as the striking symbols of the fact. "He told the trembling neophytes that the craters of these volcanoes were the ventilators of hell ;" and, in a letter to his Roman brethren, he wrote as follows : "It seems that God himself has wished, in some sort, to discover the place of the damned to a people who had no other knowledge of it." How his Roman brethren must have smiled at

¹ Lettres Edif. et Curieuses. Observ. Gener. t. ii. p. 792. b. Panth. Litt.

the idea, with Vesuvius and *Ætna* so near, foaming and blazing over the Sybarites of Christendom, actually yielding them brimstone, so useful to strike a light in the "darksome places" of secret crime and profligacy.

The barbarians fancied that their earthquakes were caused by the souls of the dead underground ; Xavier denied this, and told them the real cause—namely, "the devils eager to destroy them." He remained three years among the islanders of More.¹ Well, three years afterwards these islanders renounced the faith, profaned the churches, knocked down the crosses, and submitted to the King of Gilolo, a neighbouring island.

The arms of Portugal then took up the battle of the cross. Famine, pestilence, the volcanoes, conspired to make the conquest easy ; the Jesuit Beyra was in the expedition of the Portuguese ; he offered reconciliation to the apostates, who begged pardon with the hope of mercy, and "embraced, in their turn, the Catholic religion."² This took place in 1555, three years after the death of Xavier. In the very year of his death, and on the coast of the *Fishermen* (where Xavier is said to have been so universally successful), two Jesuits were killed by the barbarians.³

Had Xavier been less anxious to gain than to ground his converts, the result might have been somewhat different ; he had a virgin-soil to cultivate, and, perhaps, with his fortunate concomitants, he ought to have done more than the Jesuits themselves have affirmed—more than clamorous facts attest.

From India, where, by the testimony of the Jesuits (as we have seen), he effected little, Xavier rushed to Japan. There, a more intellectual, a more enthusiastic

¹ Bouhours, i. 140—144.

² Cretineau, i. 475.

³ Ibid.

race consoled him for his disappointments in India by a liberal reception and acquiescence in the doctrines he preached, probably on account of the great similarity in many points which existed between the formalities of the Roman religion and that of Japan.¹

Xavier died in 1552. He was entombed at Goa, but his remains were removed in the year 1782. Great pomp attended the ceremonial. "The body was found entire," says a Jesuit, "the feet and legs in good condition, and may be touched (*palpables*); the head is covered with its skin, but dry, and in some places the skull is visible. Still, the physiognomy is not entirely effaced; and, if desired, a portrait might still be drawn from it; the arm and left hand are in tolerable condition, and placed on the breast. He is dressed in priestly robes, which still seem new, although the chasuble² was a present of the Queen of Portugal, wife of Peter II.³ It may be observed, that the saint was of *very diminutive stature*; his feet have remained rather black, perhaps because he used to make all his journeys with naked feet. The right foot wants two toes, which have been stolen by a pious theft; it is known that the right arm is at Rome.

Xavier's
body said to
be found
entire.

¹ Xavier, in 1549, wrote as follows: "The people of Japan are much given to superstitions: and a great part of them live in monasteries (in *conobitis*) almost after the manner of monks. Those, for the sake of religion, are said not to taste either flesh-meat or fish: wherefore we, by the advice of our companions, lest the barbarians should be scandalised in us, bethink ourselves of a severe diet there should circumstances require it."—*Epist. Japon.* lib. i. They had a sort of hierarchy too, not unlike that of Rome.—*Ibid.* lib. iii. *Cosm. Turren.* 1561. There were nuns as well as monks, similarly clad to those of Europe.

² Priest's outer-garment.

³ Perrin says that it is the custom for the Queens of Portugal to embroider with their own hands this priestly garment for the mummy. It is renewed every twenty years: the old one thus made miraculous, of course, is sent to the court to be "divided" as may be thought proper.

“When the body was thus exposed, the assistants kissed it, one after another, with veneration, and without confusion ; they also touched it respectfully with handkerchiefs, chaplets, and crosses. After which the coffin was closed, and it was placed in a crystal urn destined to receive it. Then the *Te Deum* was sung, and the body remained exposed to public veneration on the alcove placed in the middle of the church.” As the body dried and seemed to suffer from the air, light, and heat occasioned by the crowd which so pious a ceremony attracted, the Jesuit thinks that the exhibition of the remains would not be often repeated. The above is an extract from the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, Missions de l’Inde*. The preservation of the saint’s body is attributed to his “chastity and virginity”—“*non leni argumento indicat castimoniam viri, ac virginitatem,*” says Acosta.¹ But when the ruffians of the French Revolution broke open the tombs of royalty at St. Dennis, the embalmed body of Henry IV. was so entire, that it was instantly recognised, from the prints, by the spectators ; and the two deep gashes made by the dagger of Ravallac still yawned almost as clean as when the regicide’s blade sought the soul of the “good Henri.”² His preservation, however, cannot exactly be attributed to chastity and virginity, as Father Cotton could too well testify, and all the world knows. Light, air, and heat are the great analysers of nature ; their experiments are always going on, and with certain results. Corruption, under their influence, is only the elimination of essential gases, destined to enter into

¹ Rer. in Orient. p. 14.

² Duval, Jour. de la Ter. ; see Alison, Hist. of Europe, vol. iv. p. 146, new edition.

new combinations for the support of vegetable and animal life. Thus are we, in spite of ourselves, useful in death ; and the most pampered bodies run fastest to decay ; whilst unencumbered muscle, particularly when death ensues suddenly, or after a short illness, resists the chemical action of the dissolving agents denied full play, as in the case of "Xavier's body" in its snug mausoleum. The story invented by the Jesuits about the body being first unconsumed in quicklime is simply absurd ; though Xavier's abstemiousness in eating and drinking may have been his preservative in death as well as in life. He seldom eat meat, and often lived two or three days on a single loaf of bread.¹ I say the assertion about the quicklime failing to do its duty was absurd, but we are by no means sure that the mummy venerated *is* Xavier's. Xavier, say the biographers, was *above the middle size*, whilst the mummy proves, according to the Jesuit account just given, that the person whose it is, was of *very diminutive stature*—*de stature très basse* !—Let the Jesuits reconcile the contradiction. It is astonishing how these men have taxed human credulity. They even say that when Xavier's body was exhumed, three months after burial, "it emitted various scents of wonderful sweetness,"² and that by invoking its aid in a storm as they sailed with it to Goa, the ship was saved from destruction !³

The numerous miracles "proved" at Xavier's canonisation present no variety—they are the usual stock in trade with a ready sale attending. We must not judge too harshly the co-operating superstitions of the age, though we cannot too severely denounce the wicked impositions of its promoters, the Jesuits.

¹ Acosta p. 13. The account of the mummy is in the *Lett. Edif.* ii. 790.

² "Ut varios efflaret odores miræ suavitatis."—*Id.* 14.

³ *Ibid.*

Baldeus,¹ Tavernier,² and Hakluyt,³ three Protestants, give becoming praise to Xavier's merits, and the Jesuits quote their remarks as "the testimony of three heretics in favour of the saint:" it is unkind to abuse them with this epithet, seeing that they based their opinions on "the modern histories of the Indies, which are filled with the excellent virtues and miraculous works of that holy man." The Jesuits know who "filled" the said "modern histories." And the venerable guesser at Truth, Archdeacon Hare, the admirer of the not less venerable Kenelm Digby, of the Broadstone of Honour, associates Xavier with *Calvin and Knox*, which, under favour, is the unkindest cut of all:⁴ no "heretics" are more thoroughly detested, denounced, and hated by the Jesuits and Catholics in general, than those two reformers associated with *Xavier* in the archdeacon's calendar of saints.⁵

Whilst the Jesuits in Japan were building the edifice of the faith on Xavier's foundations, the affairs of the

¹ Hist. of the Indies, 1672.

² Travels: he died in 1689.

³ The Principal Navigations of the Eng. Nation. He died in 1616, when all was rife about the "Apostle."

⁴ The Victory of Faith, and other sermons, p. 198.

⁵ An epic was composed by the French poet, Dulard, entitled *La Xaveriade*, the *Xaveriad*. There is another in Latin, by Simon Franck, another Frenchman, in 1761. However crude and frosty the sentiment pervading these "epics" may be, it is evident from the "facts" we have read in these pages that a *Xaveriad* must be "infinitely" less somniferous than the *Henriad* of another Frenchman.

Xavier's works extant, are Five books of Epistles (Paris, 1631, 8vo.) a Catechism, and *Opuscula*. His life has been written by several Jesuits: that by Bouhours is the most popular. It was translated into English by the poet Dryden when he turned Catholic and figured at the court of James II. The tradition, amongst the Catholics, is, that he performed the task as a *penance* imposed by his father-confessor, probably the Jesuit *Peters*, confessor, &c., to James himself, certainly by some Jesuit. It is also said that Tom Moore's "Travels in Quest of a Religion," had a similar origin—a penance on reconciliation to the Church.

Society on the Western coast of Africa were taking a desperate turn, involving, as we shall constantly find, the ruin of the Catholic cause in the hands of the Jesuits. Early in the sixteenth century the slave-trade was established in Africa by the Portuguese, and following their example, by all the Christian powers of Europe. The benevolent Las Casas has been handed down to posterity as the first who suggested the employment of negroes, to lighten the horrors of slavery to the Indians of America. This has been contradicted;¹ and humanity rejoices to rescue so great and good a name even from the accidental imputation—for it could be no more.

The Jesuits appeared on the West coast of Africa in 1547. When the Portuguese invaded Congo, in 1485, they took with them four Dominicans. The negroes embraced Christianity; and they remained Christians as long as the priests, who ruled their consciences, proved themselves worthy of the priesthood; “but by degrees,” according to the Jesuit-historian, “the shepherds became wolves: idleness engendered vice: sordid cupidities or guilty passions produced all manner of scandals; the faith was extinguished in the hearts of the negroes; and very soon there was not in this colony, so admirably founded by the Dominicans, a trace of civilisation, nor a vestige of modesty.”² The Jesuits were reformers from the first: they were sent to this retrograde colony of the Faith. As usual their efforts are represented as perfectly miraculous:—one set up a

¹ Greg. Apol. de B. de Las Casas; also Biogr. Univ. in voce Casas, as the result of an examination of all the Spanish and Portuguese historians of the time. Herrera, an inaccurate historian, made the assertion.

² Cretineau, i. 488.

school,—another preached in the town ; a third overran the forests, gathering the savages into families, to form a community. They baptised ; they explained the duties of morality ; crowds thronged around them ; everywhere they found submission.¹ This was one of the finest opportunities offered to the Society of Jesus for the amelioration of humanity. The Jesuits might have done much for the civilisation of Africa—might have effectually checked, if not suppressed, the trade in men, so soon destined to shame humanity with its ruthless cruelty and injustice. Neither the power of Portugal, nor the arms of Spain, could have marred the good scheme in the trackless wilds of Africa—free, and impenetrable to all, save those whom God and humanity impel to a noble achievement.

The Jesuits surrendered the opportunity.

They themselves are compelled mysteriously to admit that their two missionaries, Diaz and Ribera, “had not thought that their kingdom was not of this world.”² These Jesuits intermeddled with the worldly business-matters of the people, and “facilitated to the European traders *every kind* of commercial intercourse with the natives.”³ The traffic in slaves was, therefore, not excepted. Congo was among the marts of human flesh. These Jesuits deserted the service of God for that of the King of Portugal and his ravenous subjects.

The King of Congo suspected their influence with the people, dreaded its political object, and, accordingly, assumed a menacing attitude towards the Jesuits. In this conjuncture, Soveral, one of the fraternity, was summoned to Rome, by Ignatius—so early did this transaction take place—to give an account of the

¹ Cretineau, i. 489.

² Id. 489 ; Orland. l. xiii. 58.

³ Cret. i. 490.

mission. He confirmed the reports and recalled the offenders. He substituted two other Jesuits in their place : but it was too late : the African king was inflexible. He expelled the Jesuits and the Portuguese together in 1555.

Similar charges assailed the Jesuits in Japan : it seemed by experience that they carried everywhere war and destruction—*bellum excidiumque importare*—pioneering the way to Portuguese supremacy.¹ Though similar results did not ensue, one charge is rendered probable by the other, and we shall see, ere long, a terrible retribution on Jesuit-Christianity in Japan. It was not yet ripe : but the causes were in operation. To Japan thronged incessantly ravenous Portuguese, in quest of gold. Every year they carried off quantities of this, and other metals, to the amount of 600,000*l*. They also married the richest heiresses of Japan, and allied themselves to the most powerful families of the country.² In the midst of their petty wars the aid of the Portuguese was desirable, and the “European Bonza,” or Jesuit missionary, was an object of veneration, if not of dread, to the people and their leaders. We must not be blind to the fact, that the Bonzas, or native priests, were jealous of the Jesuit-influence ; but they were silenced, disregarded, if not despised. Jesuit-miracles and portents were of daily occurrence : the blind saw, the lame walked, the deaf heard, the dumb spoke, devils were driven out, all manner of diseases cured,³ or, all these mighty things were *proclaimed*—it was impossible to still the trumpet of fame braying forth renown to the

¹ Epist. Jap. iv. 213.

² Raynal. Hist. of the Indies, i.

³ Epist. Jap. *passim*.

conquerors. The neophytes were taught the most approved method of monkish justification. They would assemble together, put out the lights, and lash their naked backs most atrociously—*extinctis luminibus atrocissime cuncti sese diverberant*. The women vied with the men in this display—*ipsæ quoque mulieres in hanc partem se admodum strenue atque acriter incitant*.¹ To these people, recently converted from idolatry, the Jesuits distributed little wax images, called *Agnus-Dei*'s, a box of which they received from Rome. The crowds of applicants for the talisman were so great, that the Jesuits had to cut up the wax into minute pieces, so as to satisfy the credulous piety of the faithful.²

Xavier had obtained possession of the College at Goa, which was ceded by the King of Portugal to the Society, with all its revenues, liberally increased, for the convenience of the Jesuits and their con-
The Jesuits
at Goa.
 verts. More than a hundred Jesuits commenced operations. "Schools of divinity and the liberal arts" were opened, and the students were trained in the native language, so as to enable the future preachers to dispense with interpreters. Soon six hundred boys, from different nations, were on the benches: there were Persians, Arabs, Ethiops, Caffres, Canarians, Malayans, Moors, Chinese, Malaccans, and other scions of the Gentiles, youths of bright intellect—*præclarâ fere indole*, for the most part, and of great hope—the future apostles of the Society among their own people.³

In a few years the Jesuits had establishments all along the Malabar coast, besides the Indian isles—

¹ Epist. Jap. iv. p. 217.

² Ib. p. 219. For the Jesuit notion of these talismans consult Pontificj Agnus Dei dilucidati dal Padre A. Balthassar della Compagnia di Gesù.

³ Acost. Rer. in Ori. p. 16.

wherever the arms of Portugal struck terror into the natives. But, though ever willing to take advantage of such terror, the Jesuits were too wise to rest satisfied with that protection alone: they constantly endeavoured to win the hearts of the people, even when they thought it necessary to advise, or acquiesce in, the application of force against the unwilling subjects of Portugal in India. Already had the Jesuits devised the curious scheme which they afterwards so famously developed in Paraguay. In their domain (*mansione*) at Tanna, or Tanaa, in the presidency of Bombay, they divided their neophytes into two bands: some they trained in science, others they brought up as shoemakers, tailors, weavers, blacksmiths, tradesmen of all sorts. From their daily labour the latter would go to the college in the evening for food and rest, and then, in chorus alternating, they sang devout hymns and litanies. Some of them were field-labourers, and would go, during the winter, clad in their great coats, to a neighbouring plantation, called the village of the Trinity, to plant the yam,¹ depositing

¹ The yam (*dioscorea sativa*) is an herbaceous vine, with large tubers, and grows in the East and West Indies, and in Africa. There are many varieties in the form of the roots: some resemble the fingers of the hand extended, others are twisted like a snake: some do not weigh more than a pound, others are three feet long and weigh thirty pounds—enough for three Irish families at least, leaving plentiful skins for the pigs. One acre of ground has been known to produce from twenty to thirty thousand pounds weight. The yam is very palatable, when boiled or roasted,—probably superior to the potato in nutriment. As the Jesuit observes, the planting is laborious. Holes must be dug two feet apart, in rows eighteen inches distant from each other: the yams are put in the holes, covered with earth, then with haulm or rubbish, to retain the moisture. The removal of the crop also requires the greatest care, as a wound would cause the tuber to sprout much earlier than otherwise. The yam grows slowly, requiring more than a year before yielding the crop—but then you have enough in all conscience. The potato is the emblem of the vain, whose gains are quick and small; the yam is that of the ambitious, who can wait because they will have a big meal.

each bulb with their hands—a very laborious occupation ; but they thus learnt the avocation, and were able to assist the other inhabitants, who were Christian workmen, so that they might in due time marry their daughters. In this plantation all the pauper converts found employment, and, by the liberality of the King of Portugal, they were provided with food and raiment for themselves, wives, and children ; agricultural implements, seed, and oxen, were amply provided from a large farm, and they had herdsmen to look after the cattle. From the farm any Christian might take as many oxen as he needed (there were more than fifty in all), and in the evening, his labour done, he would lead them back to their pens.

The Jesuits would buy up boys and girls from their native parents, otherwise intended to be sold to the Mahometans, and join them to “the family of Christ ; some of them died pronouncing, with their last breath, the name of Jesus. One of these poor slaves cost only three pieces and a half of silver, another only one and a half ; hence it is sufficiently evident how incomprehensible are the judgments of God.”

They also bought lands, from which they derived an annual revenue of about three hundred pieces of gold, *aurei nummi*, a part of which was applied to the support of widows and orphans of both sexes, whose daily labour was insufficient for their maintenance, and to that of the sick poor and catechumens during their instruction ; and a portion of the same was also kept as a fund to be distributed in loans to those who were unable to meet their engagements or pay their debts.

There were also flocks of goats and their keepers ; and houses there were where the fathers of the families

received every day for their little ones, a portion of milk, of which there was a plentiful supply all the year round.

Extensive grounds supplied abundantly all kinds of fruit and grain, so that nothing whatever seemed wanting for their maintenance. They were all good husbandmen and good men.

By the unremitting diligence of their masters, kept in constant training, they were well acquainted with the mysteries and precepts of the Christian faith. Every day, at the sound of the bell for the angelical salutation,¹ all assembled, and the men and women repeated the elements of the Christian doctrine. Nay, even in the woods you might hear boys, and on the tops of palm-trees, men, singing the Ten Commandments.²

Not more than four or five Jesuits directed the domestic arrangements of the community ; and one of them acted as surgeon.³

In the midst of the village there were gardens in common, very extensive, watered by a perpetual fountain, and planted with many vines, citrons, fig-trees, and a variety of others.

The Catechism was explained to the villagers once on work-days, but twice on holidays ; and they had very solemn public prayers, little boys dressed in white singing sacred songs. The same minstrels attended at the burial of the faithful, bearing the crucifix in advance, and chaunting the funeral psalmody. Four Christians decorated with the solemn badges of the Confraternity

¹ A set form of prayer, repeated thrice a day, to the Virgin Mary, in commemoration of the angel's announcement to the Virgin and the Incarnation.

² "*Quinetiam in silvis, pueri, et è summis palmarum arboribus, viri exaudiantur præcepta Decalogi decantantes.*"

³ The diseases he cured are mentioned,—“ulcers and impostumes, both horrible to be seen, and dangerous in their very nature ;” i. e. contagious.

of Mercy, carried the corpse to the grave. The ceremonial was greatly admired both by the Christians and the barbarians.¹

Few readers will have run over the foregoing description without reflection. In the admiration of the good done to humanity we stop not to consider, with the historian, how far the Jesuits had broken through their "Constitutions" in organising and superintending the worldly concerns of these new Christians. It is Acosta, the Jesuit, writing in 1570, who makes the remark, that such superintendence was "very foreign to the Institute," *certeroqui ab eorum instituto valde alienum*.²

Who will deem it foreign to the Institute of any body of Christian men to teach the savage the ameliorating arts of life, to lead them sweetly, gently, profitably, into those regular habits of civilised life, which are, in themselves, the human safeguards to the Gospel's Christianity?

If, from the first preaching of the Gospel, a similar method had been purely, disinterestedly, continuously pursued, the world of Christendom would now be more advanced in the practice of that divine theory which God himself would teach unto men.

The social duties are the first suggested by nature; and *they* first suggest the reality of that human responsibility which revealed religion expands by the exposition of motives, having God in Heaven for their eternal, infinite object.

The first of social duties is to be *useful*. That complied with, there ensues the whole train of motives which end in God and Heaven. For, at every step, the useful man prepares for another—advancing ever, with

¹ Acost. Rer. in Orient. p. 26, *et seq.*

² Ibid. p. 27.

the immediate reward for every deed—God's own approval to the grateful heart suggested.

Then these Jesuits were right, divinely right, in pursuing this method with the savage. True, they mingled with it much that tended to deprave, but the principle was good, more admirable than words can express. You must civilise the savage before you can make him a Christian. You may do both together—but both *must* go together. You must enable him to be a man before he can become a Christian. A miracle of grace would dispense with the *process*, but not with the *result*—the true Christian includes the man as perfect as his nature admits. Then begin with the arts of life ; begin with teaching him how to live more securely ; how to provide more efficiently for his daily wants ; expand his mind with the knowledge of his *human* destiny—and then he will imbibe the truths which are the motives of your charitable teaching—that something-beyondness which strengthens and makes elastic every step in our earthly pilgrimage.

All the apostles of the Saviour were men of trades. The selection is not without import ; Christ himself used the hammer and the saw. If, of all men, the Jesuits have been most successful with the savage, the secret of their success is explained, and deserves the deepest attention of those whom God has called to receive the reward of them who “shall shine as the stars for ever and ever.” Daniel, xii. 3.

And why was the work of the Jesuits doomed to final failure ? The last announcement in the same chapter of Acosta's book, which has given us the preceding details, suggests the answer. He states that, besides these occupations, the Jesuits

The cause
of Jesuit
failure.

had to "superintend the *royal castles*."¹ *These* were the rocks on which they split : this was the pitch that befouled their hands : whilst many of them were doing good, many were doing evil, or certainly that which was essentially "very foreign to their Institute"—serving *the kings of Earth* instead of the King of Heaven, until the unholy work made them utterly selfish for their Society : and then that became their "greater glory"—and retribution fell upon them heavily—but not before "they had *their* reward." Matt. vi. 2.

The expansive energy of the primitive Society embraced other lands—disdainful of difficulties—defying peril.

The Portuguese were desirous of extending their arms or their commerce into Ethiopia. John II. had sent an embassy to the king of the Abyssinia. country as early as 1486 ; and "friendly relations" had been interchanged.

The affairs of the Abyssinian king, contemporary with John III. of Portugal, became intricate : a rebel "miserably wasted his dominions." Claudius, or Asnaf, as he was named, applied for aid to the king of Portugal, as the Britons of old did to the ravenous Saxons. We read that Asnaf did also demand a Roman patriarch and some able divines, to be sent into Abyssinia : his subsequent conduct seems to belie the assertion, if better information and second thoughts did not induce him to change his mind on the important subject.

The religion of the Abyssinians was an incongruous but comfortable mixture of Judaism, Paganism, and Christianity, and is probably the same at the present time.²

¹ Acost. Rer. in Orient. p. 28. *Castella regia invisunt*—affirming the good which thereby accrued to the Portuguese and the barbarians.

² *Lettres Edif. et Cur. t. i. p. 617.*

It was, however, the Christianity of the land ; the people, and the priests, and the nobles, were satisfied with it ; no wise king will meddle with the religion of his subjects, since by fostering it, he ensures the support of the priesthood, who live by it, swaying the minds and hearts of the people.

King John III. of Portugal solicited the pope to send a patriarch into Ethiopia. He seems to have had his designs—right orthodox son of the Church—grand Inquisitioner of the poor Jews in Portugal—and now having a bright eye on schismatic Abyssinia.

It was a fine country for a “colony” after the manner of the Portuguese and Spaniards. Populous and fertile, —valleys and mountains in a state of cultivation. Cardamum and gigantic ginger covered the plains ; and innumerable springs intersected the country, their banks begemmed with the lily and jonquil, tulips and the countless multitude of nature’s beautiful eyes, of a thousand hues. There grew in the woods, orange-trees, citrons, the jasmin, and pomegranates ; every fruit-tree and flower-plant that taste, or scent, or sight can desire. And the land was also rich in *gold*.¹

The king of Portugal wrote also to Ignatius, requesting the gift of twelve men for the expedition into Ethiopia.

Out of these one was to be a patriarch, and two his coadjutors and successors. Orlandinus tells us that Ignatius at once appointed Baretto, Carnerio, and Oviedo, two Portuguese and one Spaniard ; but there is a letter extant, in Ignatius’s handwriting, which shows that these men were not his original choice. *Pasquier Brouet* was the Jesuit he

A Jesuit-
bishop at
length.

¹ Lettres Edif. i. 612. See Ludolf. Hist. Ethiop. ; Bruce, Travels ; Salt Abyss., &c.

selected for the enterprise of Ethiopia. The error of the Jesuit-historians, or their suppression of the fact, is unimportant, perhaps ; but it is indeed most curious to find that one of the very few documents given to Cretineau-Joly by the Roman Jesuits for publication, turns out to be the letter of Ignatius to Pasquier Brouet, attesting the above correction, and giving us the old veteran's opinions of his men at the time, of whom the Jesuit-historians proclaim such wonderful laudation. It appears that Cretineau did not understand the letter ; at all events, he gives no translation of it, nor of any of the other unimportant, but excessively crabbed autographs of the Ignatian era. He has flung the precious document of Father Ignatius between two pages to which it has not the remotest reference.¹ It is very interesting : interesting for the expression of his opinions on his men, for its unmistakeable point amidst confusion and involution, and, lastly, for the composition, which is decidedly fair Castilian, barring a few vulgarisms.² I shall translate as literally as possible, retaining even the punctuation, and other peculiarities of the original.

“If God shall ordain, that any one of this Company should go on this enterprise of Ethiopia, I believe that

¹ See pp. 128, 129, amongst the garbled “Privileges” of the Jesuits, *Hist. de la Comp. t. i.*

² A fac-simile of this letter is given. The handwriting denotes a man of decided opinions, haughty and proud, and aspiring. The extraordinary care with which the signature is written, its elegance and flourish, show the conscious supremacy and power of the veteran general ; its decided difference from the body of the letter indicates a man of double character, a feature also evidenced by the waving lines of the letter. Perfect self-possession is evinced by the very many letters disjoined from their fellows ; in fact, there is not a word in the whole letter in which some letter is not isolated. This manuscript is, to me, one of the most interesting I have ever examined for the interpretation of character ; and I have interpreted very many, investigating the art, for such it is, of knowing human character by the handwriting.

the lot will fall on Maestro [Mr.] Pasquier, that as far as it depends upon my choice, considering the whole
A letter of Ignatius. universal and particular interest conformably to my conscience I would not choose any one else, because supposing that I would not venture that there should be in such a charge any one who is not a Professed it seems to me that three things are very necessary, which he who shall go must have, the first virtue, the 2nd. learning, the 3rd. that he should be good looking—*que tenga persona*, strong, and middle-aged. These three parts united I do not perceive in any one of the Company so much as in Maestro Pasquier, for if we talk of Lejay he is too old, Maestro Laynez is not good looking, is very delicate, Maestro Salmeron not of long standing and is as it were so youthful and beardless—*tan moço y sin barbas*, as heretofore you have known him, Maestro Bonodilla [Bobadilla] too weak, and he does not suit the purpose, of those who remain there being only nine Professed, you are at the head of all, both because the parts which are possessed are all profitable, and because if one be demanded, Maestro Pasquier will appear to me to possess more completely all the parts united, first he is so good, that we consider him an Angel in the Company. 2nd. With the learning which he has, he has much experience in visiting and reforming bishoprics and monasteries and having gone as Nuncio to Ireland, which no one of the Company has understood so much in these exercises, giving admirably a good account of all he has taken in hand, being very solicitous by nature, and very careful to be diligent always in so many things relating to bishoprics and conscience, which will be most required for those parts of Ethiopia. Besides, he is sufficiently good looking, and strong, and

Si Dios nro s.^o ordenare, Q alguno desta compay.^a vaya en esta empresa de Etiopia, y ocrea Q la suerte caera sobre mi par y gobernaré yo! dando admirabilmete buena cuenta de pdo do en q^{ta} ob^{ra} exercitio^o tanto, dando mucho sollicito a natura, y mucho quanto ha tomado entre manos, seyendo mucho sollicito a natura, y mucho pudiese por ver se siempre entubos casob^{os} episcopales y de consistorio mas se requiere para y nellas partes de Etiopia. Despues de q^{ta} tie ne ~~en~~ apax buena persona, y fuertes, y salud, y de edad de 40, años poco mas or menos, dios nro s.^o por la su infinita y sumabundad nos p^ora ordenar y gobernar el todo y si fuere menester eligiendo de su manera ordenar y gobernar la abanza y g^{ra} de su clia. ma. mano, como sea mayor servicio alabanza y g^{ra} de su clia. ma. y quen sea siempre en nro continuo favor y ayuda de su ma. y

healthy, and about 40 years of age, a little more or less,¹ may god our lord by his infinite and supreme bounty ordain and govern all and if it be necessary choosing with his own hand, just as it may be for the greater service, praise, and glory of his divine majesty may which be always in our continual favour and the aid of Rome. IGNATIUS."

It is certain, however, that Oviedo and his companions finally departed for the enterprise of Ethiopia. Oviedo was made a bishop,—Father Ignatius making no appeal to the "end of the Society" against the reception of Church-dignities, on that occasion:—he could easily spare these Jesuits to be episcopated, and sent them to invade the kingdom of Prester-John. The remarkable events which followed belong to a later period of the Society—after the death of Ignatius, to which we are hastening. A few important matters must be dismissed ere we stand around the deathbed of Ignatius of Loyola.

Asia, Africa, and Europe, were now penetrated by the Jesuits. Germany was divided into two provinces of the Society, and Spain into three; Sicily The Jesuits in Brazil. was a province, Italy, as a matter of course, and even France, in spite of the determined resistance of the university, was considered a province by the unflinching Jesuits.² Across the Atlantic the Jesuits had gone, and were seen with the fierce and avaricious invaders pouncing on the coast of Brazil. The court of Lisbon despised this colony because it promised no gold—the all-compensating object of that degraded age. Criminals, persecuted Jews plundered and banished by

¹ According to the Bib. Script. Soc. Jesu., Pasquier Brouet died in 1562, aged fifty-five. He was therefore born in 1507, and was consequently about thirty-seven years of age in 1554, the period of the enterprise. ² Orlandinus.

the Inquisition, found there an asylum ; and then the coast was parcelled out to adventurous noblemen for private speculation.

The Brazilian Indians were cannibals—knew of no God whatever—utterly barbarians : but hospitable—eager to befriend those who sought their friendship or protection.¹ If they knew no God, the handy-work of God was within them. They were not warriors by profession : when they went forth to battle, it was to avenge a relative or a friend. The cruelties of their warfare were great ; but they did not equal the atrocities of the Spaniards, the “Christian” conquerors of America.

Six Jesuits commenced operations in Brazil ; and their labours were crowned with great success. The savages hated the Portuguese : but the Jesuits gained their love and admiration. Their attachment to the missionaries grew into passionate fondness. When a Jesuit was expected in one of their nations, the young people flocked to meet him, concealing themselves in the woods along the road. As he drew near, they sallied forth, played on their pipes, beat their drums, danced, and made the air resound with joyful songs ; in a word, omitted nothing that could express their satisfaction.² They were fond of music : the Jesuits led them in procession singing the precepts of religion. The missionaries made every effort to wean them from the feast of human flesh : they would even pitch their tent in the midst of the savage bands about to prepare the horrible banquet ; and when their supplications availed not, they would baptise the victims, deeming the ceremonial sufficient to save the soul, as they could not rescue the body. Strange human nature ! These cannibals fancied

¹ Raynal.

² Id. iv.

that the waters of baptism made the flesh of the victims less succulent ! They menaced the Jesuits with the same fate : the Jesuit Anchieta was singled out : he boldly told them that his hour was not come—remained amongst them without flinching, as a lion-tamer amongst wild beasts, and his prediction was verified : his intrepidity and calmness won them over, and they spared the Jesuit.¹

Unquestionably these Jesuits in Brazil were the friends of the savages. They made every effort to protect and relieve them from oppression, and were blessed with the gratitude and confidence of the Indians. The Jesuits became mediators to appease the just indignation of the oppressed, and, by their gentleness and tact, they were successful. With the confidence of the people they gained their children, whom they received for education. The city of San Salvador arose : the Portuguese built the city, but it was peopled by the Jesuits. The Jesuits collected the children, penetrated into the forests, visited the savages in their huts, and gained their confidence by all the services they needed for body and soul. Three establishments or residences were founded by the Jesuit Nobrega, and Brazil became a province of the Order in 1553.² By the exertions of the Jesuits in conciliating the minds and hearts of the savages, the colony began to thrive ; the sugar-cane was introduced from Madeira, and *Negroes* were imported to cultivate and make it into sugar, which, by the end of the sixteenth century, was in great demand as an article of luxury, having been previously used only as a medicine.³ Earning and partaking of the advantages accruing from this prosperity, mainly attributable to

¹ Cret. i. 482.

² Cret. i. 481.

³ Raynal, iv.

their efforts, the Jesuits made Brazil the centre of their operations on the continent of South America. They will soon give us the proof of their influencing power ; they will soon prove the incomparable advantage of gentleness and beneficence over violence and injury in the subjugation of the savage. "A handful of Jesuits will effect more than the armies of Spain and Portugal."

Ignatius was now fast sinking under his Herculean labours. His strength was diminishing whilst the cares of the Society were increasing as she enlarged her bounds. He demanded an assistant. It is remarkable that Ignatius, contrary to the subsequent practice and the Constitutions, had ruled hitherto without assistants, and even now the assistant appointed was untitled ; "the authority of the general was inviolate."

The Eleven
Rules of
Obedience.

Sinking fast, and one day feeling weaker than usual, and "considering that obedience was the soul and character of his Order," he exclaimed: "Write ! I desire that the Society should know my last thoughts on the virtue of Obedience."

He dictated as follows :—

"I. As soon as I shall have entered upon a religious life, my first care shall be to abandon myself entirely to the conduct of my Superior.

"II. It were desirable that I should fall into the hands of a Superior who should undertake to subdue my judgment, and who should apply himself to that end completely.

"III. In all things where there is no sin, I must follow my Superior's judgment, and not my own.

"IV. There are three ways of obeying. The first, when we do what we are commanded, 'by virtue of

Obedience,'¹ and that way is good. The second, which is better, when we obey simple orders. The third, and the most perfect of all, when we do not wait for the Superior's order, but anticipate and conjecture his will.

"V. I must obey, indifferently, all sorts of Superiors, without distinguishing the first from the second, nor even from the last. But I ought to see in all, equally, our Lord, whose place they hold, and remember that authority is communicated to the last by those who are above him.

"VI. If the Superior judges what he commands to be good, and I believe I cannot obey without offending God, unless this be evident to me, I must obey. If, however, I feel a difficulty through some scruple, I shall consult two or three persons of good sense, and I will abide by what they say. But if I do not yield after that, I am very far from that perfection which the excellence of the religious state demands.²

"VII. In fine, I ought not to belong to myself, but to my Creator, and to him under whose direction He has placed me. I ought to be, in the hands of my Superior, as soft wax which takes the desired form, and do all he pleases ; for example, write letters or not, speak to any one or not, and other things in like manner.

"VIII. I ought to look upon myself as a dead body,

¹ This is the form of *solemn commands*, as distinguished from *simple orders* of the Superior.

² This strange paragraph is explanatory of the third. It completely gives a man a new conscience ; his moral feeling is set aside for another's. It is, in fact, an example of the "probable opinion" of the Jesuits, which subsequently became in vogue. The idea of "sin" must be out of the question when a man must stifle the doubt of conscience by the opinion of another. It is, besides, awful to think that Ignatius, sinking to the grave, should, as it were, conjecture cases wherein the conscience of his men might shrink from crime,—from sin, at the command of a Superior,—and tells them, if they refuse to obey, they are very far from the *perfection* of the religious state !

which has no motion of itself, and like a stick which an old man uses, which he takes up or sets aside according to his convenience ; so that Religion (*i.e.* the Society) may make use of me just as she shall judge that I will be useful to her.

“IX. I ought not to ask the Superior to put me in such and such a place, or give me such and such an employment. I may, however, declare to him my idea and inclination, provided I entirely place myself in his hands, and that what he shall ordain appear to me the best.

“X. This does not forbid the request of things which are of no consequence, such as visiting the churches or practising other devotions to obtain some grace from God ; with the proviso, however, that we be in an equilibrium of mind, as to whether the Superior should grant or refuse our request.

“XI. I ought to depend, above all, on the Superior for what regards poverty, not having anything of my own, and partaking of all things, as a statue which may be stripped, without its resisting or complaining.”

Such is “The Testament of Father Ignatius,” as the Jesuits call it ; “the last deed he performed for the good of his Order.”¹

On the 30th of July, 1556, Ignatius called for his secretary, Polancus ; and having ordered those who were present to retire, he said to the secretary :
Death of Ignatius. “My hour is come. Go and ask the pope for a blessing for me, and an indulgence for my sins, in order that my soul may have more confidence in this terrible passage. And tell his holiness that if I go to a place where my prayers may avail aught, as I hope

¹ Bouhours, ii. 222.

from the Divine Mercy, I shall not fail to pray for him, as I have done when I had more reason to pray for myself."

The secretary hesitated, seeing no immediate signs of death, and expressed himself accordingly.

"Go!" said Ignatius, "and beg the blessing for another father!"

Lainez was then dangerously ill, and had received the last Sacraments. Polancus thought the implied prediction referred to Lainez: but, we are assured, that the event proved it to be Father Olave.

Ignatius continued sensible: two or three of the fathers remained with him till very late—discussing a slight matter relating to the Roman College. He passed the night alone. In the morning he was found in his agony. The fathers rushed to his bed in dismay. Thinking he was faint, they wished him to take something: but he whispered in dying accents: "There's no need of it;" and, joining his hands, raising his eyes upwards, pronouncing the name of Jesus, he calmly breathed his last. It was on the last day of July, 1556.¹

Thus died Ignatius, the Founder of the Jesuits, without the last Sacraments of the Church, without Extreme Unction, without Absolution from a priest of the Church. This fact is as remarkable as He dies without the Sacraments. any in the life of Ignatius. To the Protestant, without some explanation, it may signify little: but to the Catholic it must appear passing strange and unaccountable. Every son of the Church is held by precept to receive those last aids in his last journey: the Council of Trent makes them imperative: all the doctors

¹ Bouhours, ii. 225, *et seq.* Also, all the biographies, &c.

of the Catholic Church agree at least in the paramount importance of Extreme Unction.¹ Ignatius was in his senses : he had even predicted his death ; and yet he conforms not to the last requirements of his Religion ! He died as any “philosopher” may die. It would seem that the tale about the pope’s “blessing and indulgence” were thrown in merely to make the founder’s death somewhat respectable : the word “Jesus” is a matter of course.

So striking is this manner of the *Saint’s* departure that Bartoli goes to great lengths in endeavouring to excuse the irreverent death-bed of his Society’s founder. He attributes the absence of the Sacraments to the Saint’s spirit of *obedience to his physician*, who had not thought him in imminent danger of death.² But the man who could predict his death, as we are assured, must have been permitted, without infringing obedience, to “represent” his state, according to the rules of the founder himself—if he cared at all for the rites of the Church. On the other hand, it seems difficult to suppose that Ignatius, giving him credit for his usual astuteness, would wilfully refrain from giving that last external testimony to the “hope within him :” but DEATH wrings secrets from the stoutest hearts. At that awful moment Ignatius was laid bare. He was not *permitted* to prolong his deception. He had had “his reward.” Then, was deception compatible with all the *zealous* enterprises of his life ? Surely it was—just as were his pretended *visions* and *predictions*. Mohammed talked of God—worked “for God,” as

¹ “Nec verò tanti sacramenti contemptus absque ingenti sceleris . . . esse potest.”—*Conc. Trid. Sess. xiv. c. iii.*, in fine. See Ligorio, *Theol. Moral. t. vii. p. 216.*

² Dell’ Italia, ff. 340, 341, 342.

zealously as Ignatius for "God's greater glory." Further, we are *not* to take Jesuit-accounts as Gospel. We have already seen how they invent, add, and interpolate. It is only by dissecting psychologically the curious incidents of the man's life, as told by the Jesuits, that we can catch a glimpse of his inner character. We are told that from his wound in the leg, Ignatius limped a little, but managed so well in walking that his lameness was scarcely visible.¹ Apply this fact to his impenetrable mind, and it perfectly represents the character of Ignatius of Loyola, Founder and first General of the Jesuits:—his mental, his moral limpings were indeed scarcely visible—and those who perceived them best were most concerned in their concealment. If we are to believe the Jesuits, the devils were always with him, or at him. As long as he lived, says Bartoli and the rest of the biographers, as long as he lived the evil spirits inflicted upon him the roughest treatment. One night they wished to strangle him, and seized his throat with a hand like that of a man, which gripped him so tightly that he lost his breath, till at last reviving, he was able to name Jesus, and was released. Another night they thrashed him cruelly, and the brother who slept in the next room, roused by the noise of the strokes and the groans of Ignatius, rushed in and found him sitting on his bed, all breathless and exhausted. A second time he heard the noise, a second time he returned: but the saint forbade him to return again whatever he might hear.²

The terrors of conscience embody themselves ever and anon, or they impersonate to the mind some dread avenger of its misdeeds. On the other hand, a diseased

¹ Bouhours, ii. p. 228.

² Della Vita di S. Ign. f. 388.

liver—which seems to have been the founder's malady—and nerves unstrung, and brain racked by untold, unshared, studiously *concealed*, anxiety, were enough to produce those constant agitations, which Ignatius and his disciples interpreted into the portentous fear nocturnal, and the noon-day devil. “The biographer of Ignatius Loyola,” says Hasenmüller, “writes that the Founder of the Society died calmly; but Turrianus, a Jesuit, told me often, that Ignatius, at meals, at mass, even in company, was so harassed by devils, that he sweat copiously the coldest sweat of death. Bobadilla said he often complained that he could be never and nowhere safe from demons. Octavian, a Jesuit, and minister at Rome, or governor of the novices, observed to me: ‘Our Father Ignatius was holy; but at the approach of his last agony, he shivered as in fever, and fetching a sigh, he exclaimed: I have done much good to the Church of Rome—I have seen many provinces of our men, many colleges, houses, residences, and wealth belonging to our Society; but all these things desert me now, and I know not whither to turn!’ At length he expired in a fit of trembling, and his face turned black, according to an eye-witness, the Jesuit Turrianus.”¹

¹ “Ignatium Loiolam primum Societatis auctorem ipsius vitæ scriptor, placidè defunctum scribit. Sed Turrianus Jesuita mihi notissimus sæpe dixit: illum in cenâ, in prandio, Missâ, in recreationibus etiam, ita à demonibus exagitatum, ut in magnâ copîâ, frigidissimum mortis sudorem fuderit. Bobadilla dixit: illum sæpius conquestum, se nunquam et nullibi à demonibus tutum esse posse. Octavianus Jesuita, Romæ minister, seu novitiorum œconomus retulit mihi dicens: Sanctus erat noster pater Ignatius: sed circa agonem ità tremebat, quasi febri esset correptus, et aspirans dixit: Multa bona contuli in Ecclesiam Romanam; multas nostrorum provincias, multa collegia, domus, residencias et opes nostræ Societatis vidi: sed hæc omnia me deserunt: et quò me vertam ignoro. Tandem verò cum tremore ipsum obiisse, mortuumque nigerrimo vultu conspectum esse, idem affirmavit.”—*Hasenm. Hist. Jes. Ord.* c. xi. p. 320.

These may have been some of the tricks devised by Ignatius to inspire his disciples with awe ; for they interpreted these visitations into evidences that the devils considered Ignatius as their greatest enemy.¹ If not tricks of the founder, how are we to account for them ? Is it exalted holiness, or enormous guilt, which can give power to the devil to injure God's creature ? As far as the body is concerned, we may be permitted to believe both cases impossible, or, at least, highly improbable, and by no means necessary for "the fulfilment of all justice," under the Christian dispensation. But you have here another striking "fact" elucidative of this strange man's character ; the product of worldly ambition transplanted into the sanctuary, where it lost no particle of its energies, its craft, its recklessness, its calm, considerate, meditated hard-heartedness. His military ferocity never left Ignatius. When he played the part of mildness and kindness, and conciliation, he was like Napoleon or Cromwell, in circumstances where the thing was expedient ; but when he had an aged father scourged for an example, then was he himself—and heaven only knows how many such instances edified the infant Society : some are said to have died from the effects of the lash.²

He had wished for three things. Three things his spiritualised ambition longed to see accomplished—the Society confirmed by the popes—the book of the "Spiritual Exercises"

The three things Ignatius wished for.

¹ Bartoli, *ubi supra*, l. iv. and v.

² "Hanc plus quam ferinam feritatem, etiam post institutam Jesuitarum sectam adeo non deposuit, ut Hoffæus, Romæ in domo Jesuitarum professus testatus est, eundem nonnullos societatis suæ fratres flagellis (Jesuitæ disciplinam Loyolæ spiritualem mortificationem nuncupant) ita confecisse, ut præmaturâ morte interierint. Salmanassar Neapolitanus confitetur quod fuerit naturâ ferox, sævus, durus, truculentus."—*Hasenm. Hist. Jes. Ord.* c. i. p. 12.

approved by the holy See—and the Constitutions dispersed among his sons in every field of their labours.¹ His wishes were fulfilled ; and then he died as we have witnessed.

Ignatius was in his sixty-fifth year ; his Society numbered her sixteenth ; and the entire world was gazing upon her—some with love, some with desire only, some with suspicion, and others with implacable detestation.

¹ Bouhours, ii. 222.

END OF VOL. I.

THE FAIRFAX CORRESPONDENCE.

In 2 Vols. demy 8vo, with numerous Portraits from Original Paintings,

THE FAIRFAX CORRESPONDENCE:

Memoirs of the Reign

OF

CHARLES THE FIRST.

EDITED BY

GEORGE W. JOHNSON, ESQ.,

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

IN the spring of the year 1822, Mr. Fiennes Wykeham Martins, preparatory to some contemplated alterations at Leeds Castle, directed a sale of its useless furniture, and amongst this lumber was an old oaken chest, filled apparently with Dutch tiles. This chest the auctioneer's hammer consigned, for a few shillings, to Mr. Gooding, a shoemaker in the neighbouring village of Lenham, who found, upon examining the chest's contents, that beneath the upper strata of tiles was a much greater depth of regularly arranged manuscripts. After opening these in a vain search, as he said, "for hid treasures," they were consigned to a cellar, and left for some weeks neglected and almost unnoticed, except to be destroyed as waste paper.

Hearing that Mr. Hughes, then residing at Maidstone, was a collector of antiquities, Mr. Gooding offered to him a portion of the manuscripts, and this led to their entire preservation—Mr. Hughes becoming their purchaser. Some of the parchments had been cut into strips for shoemakers' measures; and a fragment of one, a grant of lands to Sir Anthony Saint Leger, is now before the Editor in the form of a child's drum pelt. Some of the letters Mr. Hughes recovered from the thread-papers of the village mantua-makers; others had been taken by a gentleman's servant, and had found their way into the collections of Mr. Jadis, of the Board of Green-cloth, and of Mr. Upcott, the well-known collector of autographs. These were nearly all recovered; and the whole form that valuable and richly illustrated series of manuscripts, from which this work has been prepared, and which are now, for the first time, made public.

THE FAIRFAX CORRESPONDENCE.

A descant upon the importance of such authentic information relative to the most interesting portion of our national History would be superfluous ; since every historian of that time, from Rapin downwards, has lamented the deficiency of such genuine intelligence. Beyond all comparison with others, the present Collection throws the most candid and undisguised light upon the motives of some of the chief actors in the great national events which occurred between the accession of the Stuarts and that of the House of Hanover. James the First, both Charleses, Cromwell, James the abdicated, and William, his successor, appear either in their own letters or in those of their close observers ; for there is a mass of correspondence, the writers of which are the Lords Fairfax, Sir Thomas Fairfax, the Parliamentary-general ; Mr. Stockdale, member for Knaresborough, in the Long Parliament ; Sir John Ogle, the able lieutenant of Sir Horace Vere ; Mr. Rushworth, Author of the " Collections ; " the sacrificed Earl of Strafford ; Sir T. Widdrington, the double traitor ; Lord Wharton, the witty and the volatile ; Lord Arthur Capel, the betrayed ; the Lord Treasurer Danby ; Sir William Waller, the soldier and author ; Colonel Hutchinson, who will always live in his wife's Memoirs ; the brave Sir William Brereton ; the Hothams, who died as traitors ; Leslie, the Scottish general ; Sir Edward Osborne, vice-president of the North ; Sir George Wentworth, brother to the Earl of Strafford ; Archbishop Matthews ; and Mr. Bowles, chaplain of Sir Thomas Fairfax. There are, moreover, other letters from Members of Parliament, ladies, and nobles of the time, the writers of which, though less known, were intimately acquainted with current events.

In the numerous letters of these well-known characters, the conduct of the leading men and the events of the times, as well as the private opinions of the writers, are freely revealed : they are communications to members of their own families or to their most intimate friends. The series of letters is so complete, that even with the aid of a few connecting pages, and a still smaller number of explanatory notes, it would form a Domestic History of the period. In arranging this work for publication, my duty has been comparatively light, for my literary researches have been before directed to this period of our national history. Nor was this the only circumstance that sloped my way, for the lamented owner of the Manuscripts, Mr. Hughes, had bestowed vast labour in arranging them, and great expense in their illustration. He had gathered into his library a majority of the published works relative to the period concerning which these Manuscripts impart information, and on the walls of his late residence, and in his portfolios were portraits, and drawings (chiefly original) of the most important personages then living, as well of the chief events in which they participated.

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